VOLUME 9, II, OF THE
COLLECTED WORKS OF

C. G. JUNG

AION

RESEARCHES INTO THE PHENOMENOLOGY
OF THE SELF

SECOND EDITION

BOLLINGEN SERIES XX

PRINCETON

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C. G. JUNG

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RESEARCHES INTO THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE SELF

Translated by R. F. C. Hull

Aion, originally published in 1951, is one of the major works of C. G. Jung's later years.

The central theme of the volume is the symbolical representation of the psychic totality through the concept of the Self, whose traditional historical equivalent is the figure of Christ. Professor Jung demonstrates his thesis by an investigation of the *Allegoria Christi,* especially the fish symbol, but also of Gnostic and alchemical symbolism, which he treats as phenomena of cultural assimilation. The astrological aspect of the fish symbol and, in particular, the foretelling of the Antichrist are discussed in detail. The first four chapters, on the ego, the shadow, and the anima and animus, compose a valuable summation of these key concepts in Jung's system of psychology.

As a study of the archetype of the self, *Aion* complements the first part of Volume 9, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious,* which is being published separately.

For the second edition, textual corrections have been made and the notes and bibliography have been brought up to date.

Jacket design by E. McKnight Kauffer

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The Mithraic god Aion
Roman, 2nd–3rd century

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Volume 9 of the Collected Works is devoted to studies of the specific archetypes of the collective unconscious. Part I, entitled *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, is composed of shorter essays. Part II, *Aion*, is a long monograph on the archetype of the self. The author has agreed to a modification of the sub-title of *Aion*, which in the Swiss edition appeared in two forms, "Researches into the History of Symbols" and "Contributions to the Symbolism of the Self." The first five chapters were previously published, with small differences, in *Psyche and Symbol: A Selection from the Writings of C. G. Jung*, edited by Violet S. de Laszlo (Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1958).

EDITORIAL NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

For this edition corrections have been made in the text and footnotes and the bibliographical references have been brought up to date in relation to the *Collected Works*. The translation has been corrected in light of further experience of translating Jung's works.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following persons, whose translations have been consulted during the preparation of the present work: Mr. William H. Kennedy, for extensive use of his translation of portions of chapters 2 and 3, issued as "Shadow, Animus, and Anima" by the Analytical Psychology Club of New York, 1950; Dr. Hildegarde Nagel, for reference to her translation of the original *Eranos-Jahrbuch* version (1949) of "Concerning the Self," in *Spring*, 1951, which original version the author later expanded into *Aion*, chapters 4 and 5; and Miss Barbara Hannah and Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz, for helpful advice with the remaining chapters. Especial thanks are due to Mr. A. S. B. Glover, who (unless otherwise noted) translated the Latin and Greek texts throughout. References to published sources are given for the sake of completeness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

FOREWORD

The theme of this work[1] is the idea of the Aeon (Greek, Aion). My investigation seeks, with the help of Christian, Gnostic, and alchemical symbols of the self, to throw light on the change of psychic situation within the "Christian aeon." Christian tradition from the outset is not only saturated with Persian and Jewish ideas about the beginning and end of time, but is filled with intimations of a kind of enantiodromian reversal of dominants. I mean by this the dilemma of Christ and Antichrist. Probably most of the historical speculations about time and the division of time were influenced, as the Apocalypse shows, by astrological ideas. It is therefore only natural that my reflections should gravitate mainly round the symbol of the *Fishes*, for the Pisces aeon is the synchronistic concomitant of two thousand years of Christian development. In this time period not only was the figure of the Anthropos (the Son of Man) progressively assimilated symbolically, and thus assimilated psychologically, but it brought with it changes in man's attitude that had already been anticipated by the expectation of the Antichrist in the ancient texts. Because these texts relegate the appearance of Antichrist to the end of time, we are justified in speaking of a "Christian aeon," which, it was presupposed, would find its end with the Second Coming. It seems as if this expectation coincides with the astrological conception of the "Platonic month" of the Fishes.

1 [In the Swiss edition, this foreword begins as follows: "In this volume VIII of the Psychologische Abhandlungen, I am bringing out two works which, despite their inner and outer differences, belong together in so far as both deal with the great theme of this book, namely, the idea of the Aeon (Greek, Aion). While the contribution of my co-worker, Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz, describes the psychological transition from antiquity to Christianity by analysing the Passio of St. Perpetua, my own investigation seeks [illegible] Franz's 'Die Passio Perpetuae' is omitted from the present volume. —EDITORS.]

2 [Ch. 5, "The Lapis-Christ Parallel."]

otherwise I would wisely barricade myself behind the safe walls of my specialism and not, on account of my inadequate knowledge of history, expose myself to critical attack and damage my scientific reputation. So far as my capacities allow, restricted as they are by old age and illness, I have made every effort to document my material as reliably as possible and to assist the verification of my conclusions by citing the sources.

C. G. Jung

May 1950

AION

RESEARCHES INTO THE PHENOMENOLOGY
OF THE SELF

> These things came to pass, they say, that Jesus might be made the first sacrifice in the discrimination of composite natures.
>
> HIPPOLYTUS, *Elenchos*, VII, 27, 8

I

THE EGO

1 Investigation of the psychology of the unconscious confronted me with facts which required the formulation of new concepts. One of these concepts is the self. The entity so denoted is not meant to take the place of the one that has always been known as the ego, but includes it in a supraordinate concept. We understand the ego as the complex factor to which all conscious contents are related. It forms, as it were, the centre of the field of consciousness; and, in so far as this comprises the empirical personality, the ego is the subject of all personal acts of consciousness. The relation of a psychic content to the ego forms the criterion of its consciousness, for no content can be conscious unless it is represented to a subject.

2 With this definition we have described and demarcated the scope of the subject. Theoretically, no limits can be set to the field of consciousness, since it is capable of indefinite extension. Empirically, however, it always finds its limit when it comes up against the unknown. This consists of everything we do not know, which, therefore, is not related to the ego as the centre of the field of consciousness. The unknown falls into two groups of objects: those which are outside and can be experienced by the senses, and those which are inside and are experienced immediately. The first group comprises the unknown in the outer world; the second the unknown in the inner world. We call this latter territory the *unconscious*.

3 The ego, as a specific content of consciousness, is not a simple or elementary factor but a complex one which, as such, cannot be described exhaustively. Experience shows that it rests on two seemingly different bases: the *somatic* and the *psychic*. The somatic basis is inferred from the totality of endosomatic perceptions, which for their part are already of a psychic nature and are associated with the ego, and are therefore conscious. They are produced by endosomatic stimuli, only some of which

cross the threshold of consciousness. A considerable proportion of these stimuli occur unconsciously, that is, subliminally. The fact that they are subliminal does not necessarily mean that their status is merely physiological, any more than this would be true of a psychic content. Sometimes they are capable of crossing the threshold, that is, of becoming perceptions. But there is no doubt that a large proportion of these endosomatic stimuli are simply incapable of consciousness and are so elementary that there is no reason to assign them a psychic nature—unless of course one favours the philosophical view that all life-processes are psychic anyway. The chief objection to this hardly demonstrable hypothesis is that it enlarges the concept of the psyche beyond all bounds and interprets the life-process in a way not absolutely warranted by the facts. Concepts that are too broad usually prove to be unsuitable instruments because they are too vague and nebulous. I have therefore suggested that the term "psychic" be used only where there is evidence of a will capable of modifying reflex or instinctual processes. Here I must refer the reader to my paper "On the Nature of the Psyche,"[1] where I have discussed this definition of the "psychic" at somewhat greater length.

4 The somatic basis of the ego consists, then, of conscious and unconscious factors. The same is true of the psychic basis: on the one hand the ego rests on the *total field of consciousness*, and on the other, on the *sum total of unconscious contents*. These fall into three groups: first, temporarily subliminal contents that can be reproduced voluntarily (memory); second, unconscious contents that cannot be reproduced voluntarily; third, contents that are not capable of becoming conscious at all. Group two can be inferred from the spontaneous irruption of subliminal contents into consciousness. Group three is hypothetical; it is a logical inference from the facts underlying group two. It contains contents which have *not yet* irrupted into consciousness, or which never will.

5 When I said that the ego "rests" on the total field of consciousness I do not mean that it consists of this. Were that so it would be indistinguishable from the field of consciousness as a whole. The ego is only the latter's point of reference, grounded on and limited by the somatic factor described above.

1 Pars. 371ff.

6 Although its bases are in themselves relatively unknown and unconscious, the ego is a conscious factor par excellence. It is even acquired, empirically speaking, during the individual's lifetime. It seems to arise in the first place from the collision between the somatic factor and the environment, and, once established as a subject, it goes on developing from further collisions with the outer world and the inner.

7 Despite the unlimited extent of its bases, the ego is never more and never less than consciousness as a whole. As a conscious factor the ego could, theoretically at least, be described completely. But this would never amount to more than a picture of the conscious personality; all those features which are unknown or unconscious to the subject would be missing. A total picture would have to include these. But a total description of the personality is, even in theory, absolutely impossible, because the unconscious portion of it cannot be grasped cognitively. This unconscious portion, as experience has abundantly shown, is by no means unimportant. On the contrary, the most decisive qualities in a person are often unconscious and can be perceived only by others, or have to be laboriously discovered with outside help.

8 Clearly, then, the *personality as a total phenomenon* does not coincide with the ego, that is, with the conscious personality, but forms an entity that has to be distinguished from the ego. Naturally the need to do this is incumbent only on a psychology that reckons with the fact of the unconscious, but for such a psychology the distinction is of paramount importance. Even for jurisprudence it should be of some importance whether certain psychic facts are conscious or not—for instance, in adjudging the question of responsibility.

9 I have suggested calling the total personality which, though present, cannot be fully known, the self. The ego is, by definition, subordinate to the self and is related to it like a part to the whole. Inside the field of consciousness it has, as we say, free will. By this I do not mean anything philosophical, only the well-known psychological fact of "free choice," or rather the subjective feeling of freedom. But, just as our free will clashes with necessity in the outside world, so also it finds its limits outside the field of consciousness in the subjective inner world, where it comes into conflict with the facts of the self. And just as

circumstances or outside events [illegible] happen to us and limit our freedom, so the self acts upon the ego [illegible] [illegible] which lies [illegible] [illegible] It is indeed well known [illegible] [illegible] is sometimes actually assimilated by [illegible] components of the personality that are in the process of development and is greatly altered by them.

It is in the nature of the case impossible [illegible] any general description of the ego except a formal one. Any other mode of observation would have to take account of the [illegible] which attaches to the ego as one of its [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and variable [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the ego is therefore [illegible] can suffer [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] to a certain point. Its stability is relative, because [illegible] [illegible] of personality can [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] mental or bodily [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Since it is the point of reference for the field of consciousness, the ego is the subject of all successful attempts at adaptation so far as these are achieved by the will. The [illegible] Karl Schmitz [illegible] and [illegible] Carus and von Hartmann [illegible] personality but not the whole of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] extraconscious psyche. We can only say that

its freedom is limited and its dependence proved in ways that are often decisive. In my experience one would do well not to underestimate its dependence on the unconscious. Naturally there is no need to say this to persons who already overestimate the latter's importance. Some criterion for the right measure is afforded by the psychic consequences of a wrong estimate, a point to which we shall return later on.

11 We have seen that, from the standpoint of the psychology of consciousness, the unconscious can be divided into three groups of contents. But from the standpoint of the psychology of the personality a twofold division ensues: an "extra-conscious" psyche whose contents are *personal*, and an "extra-conscious" psyche whose contents are *impersonal* and *collective*. The first group comprises contents which are integral components of the individual personality and could therefore just as well be conscious; the second group forms, as it were, an omnipresent, unchanging, and everywhere identical *quality or substrate of the psyche per se*. This is of course no more than a hypothesis. But we are driven to it by the peculiar nature of the empirical material, not to mention the high probability that the general similarity of psychic processes in all individuals must be based on an equally general and impersonal principle that conforms to law, just as the instinct manifesting itself in the individual is only the partial manifestation of an instinctual substrate common to all men.

II

THE SHADOW

negative or unfavourable role

over a long period.

Grenzgebiete, I (1948): 4.

[illegible]

16 [illegible]

17 [illegible]

the face of absolute evil

III

THE SYZYGY: ANIMA AND ANIMUS

20 What, then, is this projection-making factor? The East calls it the "Spinning Woman"[1]—Maya, who creates illusion by her dancing. Had we not long since known it from the symbolism of dreams, this hint from the Orient would put us on the right track: the enveloping, embracing, and devouring element points unmistakably to the mother,[2] that is, to the son's relation to the real mother, to her imago, and to the woman who is to become a mother for him. His Eros is passive like a child's; he hopes to be caught, sucked in, enveloped, and devoured. He seeks, as it were, the protecting, nourishing, charmed circle of the mother, the condition of the infant released from every care, in which the outside world bends over him and even forces happiness upon him. No wonder the real world vanishes from sight!

21 If this situation is dramatized, as the unconscious usually dramatizes it, then there appears before you on the psychological stage a man living regressively, seeking his childhood and his mother, fleeing from a cold cruel world which denies him understanding. Often a mother appears beside him who apparently shows not the slightest concern that her little son should become a man, but who, with tireless and self-immolating effort, neglects nothing that might hinder him from growing up and marrying. You behold the secret conspiracy between mother and son, and how each helps the other to betray life.

22 Where does the guilt lie? With the mother, or with the son? Probably with both. The unsatisfied longing of the son for life and the world ought to be taken seriously. There is in him a

1 Erwin Rousselle, "Seelische Führung im lebenden Taoismus," Pl. I, pp. 150, 170. Rousselle calls the spinning woman the "animal soul." There is a saying that runs: "The spinner sets in motion." I have defined the anima as a personification of the unconscious.

2 Here and in what follows, the word "mother" is not meant in the literal sense but as a symbol of everything that functions as a mother.

filment.

[illegible] as if in him she will receive it.

27 [illegible] resolved into algebraic equations.

28 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] carnated anew in every male child.

27 [illegible] provisional.

28 [illegible] be no more than schematic.

29 [illegible] pattern in the family

[illegible] tions [illegible]. Such assumptions, as everyone knows, can be extremely irritating. As the animus is partial to argument, he can best be seen at work in disputes where both parties know they are right. Men can argue in a very womanish way, too, when they are anima-possessed and have thus been transformed into the animus of their own anima. With them the question becomes one of personal vanity and touchiness (as if they were females); with women it is a question of *power*, whether of truth or justice or some other "ism"—for the dressmaker and hairdresser have already taken care of their vanity. The "Father" (i.e., the sum of conventional opinions) always plays a great role in female argumentation. No matter how friendly and obliging a woman's Eros may be, no logic on earth can shake her if she is ridden by the animus. Often the man has the feeling—and he is not altogether wrong—that only seduction or a beating or rape would have the necessary power of persuasion. He is unaware that this highly dramatic situation would instantly come to a banal and unexciting end if he were to quit the field and let a second woman carry on the battle (his wife, for instance, if she herself is not the fiery war horse). This sound idea seldom or never occurs to him, because no man can converse with an animus for five minutes without becoming the victim of his own anima. Anyone who still had enough sense of humour to listen objectively to the ensuing dialogue would be staggered by the vast number of commonplaces, misapplied truisms, clichés from newspapers and novels, shop-soiled platitudes of every description interspersed with vulgar abuse and brain-splitting lack of logic. It is a dialogue which, irrespective of its participants, is repeated millions and millions of times in all the languages of the world and always remains essentially the same.

30 This singular fact is due to the following circumstance: when animus and anima meet, the animus draws his sword of power and the anima ejects her poison of illusion and seduction. The outcome need not always be negative, since the two are equally likely to fall in love (a special instance of love at first sight). The language of love is of astonishing uniformity, using the well-worn formulas with the utmost devotion and fidelity,

knowledge

a priori. This may possibly explain the often totally irrational yet undisputed and indisputable existence of certain moods and opinions. Perhaps these are so notoriously refractory to reason because of the powerfully suggestive effect emanating from the archetype. Consciousness is fascinated by it, held captive, as if hypnotized. Very often the ego experiences a vague feeling of moral defeat and then behaves all the more defensively, defiantly, and self-righteously, thus setting up a vicious circle which only increases its feeling of inferiority. The bottom is then knocked out of the human relationship, for, like megalomania, a feeling of inferiority makes mutual recognition impossible, and without this there is no relationship.

35 As I said, it is easier to gain insight into the shadow than into the anima or animus. With the shadow, we have the advantage of being prepared in some sort by our education, which has always endeavoured to convince people that they are not one-hundred-per-cent pure gold. So everyone immediately understands what is meant by "shadow," "inferior personality," etc. And if he has forgotten, his memory can easily be refreshed by a Sunday sermon, his wife, or the tax collector. With the anima and animus, however, things are by no means so simple. Firstly, there is no moral education in this respect, and secondly, most people are content to be self-righteous and prefer mutual vilification (if nothing worse!) to the recognition of their projections. Indeed, it seems a very natural state of affairs for men to have irrational moods and women irrational opinions. Presumably this situation is grounded on instinct and must remain as it is to ensure that the Empedoclean game of the hate and love of the elements shall continue for all eternity. Nature is conservative and does not easily allow her courses to be altered; she defends in the most stubborn way the inviolability of the preserves where anima and animus roam. Hence it is much more difficult to become conscious of one's anima/animus projections than to acknowledge one's shadow side. One has, of course, to overcome certain moral obstacles, such as vanity, ambition, conceit, resentment, etc., but in the case of projections all sorts of purely intellectual difficulties are added, quite apart from the contents of the projection which one simply doesn't know how to cope with. And on top of all this there arises a profound doubt as to whether one is not meddling too much with nature's

[illegible] would have been better to leave asleep.

36 [illegible] everything else that is unexpected.

37 [illegible]

somewhere he is not [illegible] from his father a behaviour that the picture he has of him is a false one. But as a rule X is convinced that he is right, and if anybody is wrong it must be the other fellow. Should X have a poorly developed Eros, he will be either indifferent to the inadequate relationship he has with his father or else annoyed by the inconsistency and general incomprehensibility of a father whose behaviour never really corresponds to the picture X has of him. Therefore X thinks he has every right to feel hurt, misunderstood, and even betrayed.

38 One can imagine how desirable it would be in such cases to dissolve the projection. And there are always optimists who believe that the golden age can be ushered in simply by telling people the right way to go. But just let them try to explain to these people that they are acting like a dog chasing its own tail. To make a person see the shortcomings of his attitude considerably more than mere "telling" is needed, for more is involved than ordinary common sense can allow. What one is up against here is the kind of fateful "misunderstanding" which, under ordinary conditions, remains forever inaccessible to insight. It is rather like expecting the average respectable citizen to recognize himself as a criminal.

39 I mention all this just to illustrate the order of magnitude to which the anima/animus projections belong, and the moral and intellectual exertions that are needed to dissolve them. Not all the contents of the anima and animus are projected, however. Many of them appear spontaneously in dreams and so on, and many more can be made conscious through active imagination. In this way we find that thoughts, feelings, and affects are alive in us which we would never have believed possible. Naturally, possibilities of this sort seem utterly fantastic to anyone who has not experienced them himself, for a normal person "knows what he thinks." Such a childish attitude on the part of the "normal person" is simply the rule, so that no one without experience in this field can be expected to understand the real nature of anima and animus. With these reflections one gets into an entirely new world of psychological experience, provided of course that one succeeds in realizing it in practice. Those who do succeed can hardly fail to be impressed by all that the ego does not know and never has known. This increase in self-knowledge is still very rare nowadays and is usually

criterion for gauging the significance of these two archetypes. What we can discover about them from the conscious side is so slight as to be almost imperceptible. It is only when we throw light into the dark depths of the psyche and explore the strange and tortuous paths of human fate that it gradually becomes clear to us how immense is the influence wielded by these two factors that complement our conscious life.

42 Recapitulating, I should like to emphasize that the integration of the shadow, or the realization of the personal unconscious, marks the first stage in the analytic process, and that without it a recognition of anima and animus is impossible. The shadow can be realized only through a relation to a partner, and anima and animus only through a relation to a partner of the opposite sex, because only in such a relation do their projections become operative. The recognition of anima or animus gives rise, in a man, to a triad, one third of which is transcendent: the masculine subject, the opposing feminine subject, and the transcendent anima. With a woman the situation is reversed. The missing fourth element that would make the triad a quaternity is, in a man, the archetype of the Wise Old Man, which I have not discussed here, and in a woman the Chthonic Mother. These four constitute a half immanent and half transcendent quaternity, an archetype which I have called the marriage quaternio.[7] The marriage quaternio provides a schema not only for the self but also for the structure of primitive society with its cross-cousin marriage, marriage classes, and division of settlements into quarters. The self, on the other hand, is a God-image, or at least cannot be distinguished from one. Of this the early Christian spirit was not ignorant, otherwise Clement of Alexandria could never have said that he who knows himself knows God.[8]

7 "The Psychology of the Transference," pars. 425ff. Cf. infra, pars. 358ff., the Naassene *quaternio*.
8 Cf. infra, par. 347.

IV

THE SELF[1]

We shall now turn to the question of whether the increase in knowledge resulting from the withdrawal of impersonal projections—in other words, the integration of the contents of the collective unconscious—exerts a specific influence on the ego-personality. To the extent that the integrated contents are *parts of the self*, we can expect this influence to be considerable. Their assimilation augments not only the area of the field of consciousness but also the importance of the ego, especially when, as usually happens, the ego lacks any critical approach to the unconscious. In that case it is easily overpowered and becomes identical with the contents that have been assimilated. In this way, for instance, a masculine consciousness comes under the influence of the anima and can even be possessed by her.

I have discussed the wider effects of the integration of unconscious contents elsewhere[2] and can therefore omit going into details here. I should only like to mention that the more numerous and the more significant the unconscious contents which are assimilated to the ego, the closer the approximation of the ego to the self, even though this approximation must be a never-ending process. This inevitably produces an inflation of the ego,[3] unless a critical line of demarcation is drawn between it and the unconscious figures. But this act of discrimination yields practical results only if it succeeds in fixing reasonable boundaries to the ego and in granting the figures of the unconscious—the self, anima, animus, and shadow—relative autonomy and reality

1 The material for this chapter is drawn from a paper, "Über das Selbst," published in the *Eranos Jahrbuch 1948*.

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible] that a man should have his father's wife.")

[illegible] pay heed to them.

45 [illegible]

46 [illegible]

4 Cf. "On the Nature of the Psyche," [illegible]

[illegible] self be outwitted by mere nature.

[illegible]

50 Mentally and morally it is not only more beneficial but more correct psychologically to explain as "the will of God" the natural forces that appear in us as instincts. In this way we find our ways being in harmony with the habitus of our ancestral psychic life; that is, we function as man has functioned at all times and in all places. The existence of this habitus is proof of its viability, for, if it were not viable, all those who obeyed it would long since have perished of maladaptation. On the other hand, by conforming to it one has a reasonable life expectancy. When an habitual way of thinking guarantees as much as this, there is not only no reason for declaring it incorrect but, on the contrary, every reason to take it as "true" or "correct" in the psychological sense. Psychological truths are not metaphysical insights; they are habitual modes of thinking, feeling, and behaving which experience has proved appropriate and useful.

51 So when I say that the impulses which we find in ourselves should be understood as the "will of God," I wish to emphasize that they ought not to be regarded as an arbitrary wishing and willing, but as absolutes which one must learn how to handle correctly. The will can control them only in part. It may be able to suppress them, but it cannot alter their nature, and what is suppressed comes up again in another place in altered form, but this time loaded with a resentment that makes the otherwise harmless natural impulse our enemy. I should also like the term "God" in the phrase "the will of God" to be understood not so much in the Christian sense as in the sense intended by Diotima, when she said: "Eros, dear Socrates, is a mighty daemon." The Greek words daimon and daimonion express a determining power which comes upon man from outside, like providence or fate, though the ethical decision is left to man. He must know, however, what he is deciding about and what he is doing. Then, if he chooses, he is following not just his own opinion, and if he rejects, he is destroying not merely his own invention.

52 The purely biological or scientific standpoint falls short in psychology because it is, in the main, intellectual only. That this should be so is not a disadvantage, since the methods of natural science have proved of great heuristic value in psychological research. But the psychic phenomenon cannot be grasped in its totality by the intellect, for it consists not only of *meaning* but also of value, and this depends on the intensity of the

[illegible] Here at least the two [illegible] [illegible]

35 [illegible]

[illegible] for instance, usually has a [illegible] negative feeling-value, while the anima, like the [illegible] has more of a positive one. Whereas the shadow is accompanied by more or less definite and describable feeling-tones, the anima and animus exhibit [illegible] relative reversal of values.

[illegible]

54 I am speaking here of the *subjective* feeling value, which is subject to the more or less periodic changes described above. But there are also collective values which are founded on a consensus of moral, aesthetic, and religious values, for instance, and these are universally recognized ideals or feeling-toned collective ideas (Lévy-Bruhl's "représentations collectives").[6] The subjective feeling-tones or "value quanta" are easily recognized by the kind and number of constellations or symptoms of disturbance[7] they produce. Collective ideas often have no subjective feeling-tone but nevertheless retain their feeling-value. This value, therefore, cannot be demonstrated by subjective symptoms, though it may be by the attributes attaching to these collective ideas and by their characteristic symbolism, quite apart from their suggestive effect.

55 The problem has a practical aspect, since it may easily happen that a collective idea, though important in itself, is, because of its lack of subjective feeling-tone, represented in a dream only by a subsidiary attribute, as when a god is represented by his theriomorphic attribute, etc. Conversely, the idea may appear in consciousness lacking the affective emphasis that properly belongs to it, and must then be transposed back into its archetypal context—a task that is usually discharged by poets and prophets. Thus Hölderlin, in his "Hymn to Liberty," lets this concept, worn stale by frequent use and misuse, rise up again in its pristine splendour:

> Since her arm out of the dust has raised me
> Beats my heart so boldly and serene;
> And my cheek still tingles with her kisses,
> Flushed and glowing where her lips have been.
> Every word she utters, by her magic
> Rises new-created, without flaw;
> Hearken to the tidings of my goddess,
> Hearken to the Sovereign, and adore![8]

56 It is not difficult to see here that the idea of liberty has been changed back to its original dramatic state—into the shining

6 *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures.*
7 "On Psychic Energy," pars. 14ff., 20ff.
8 *Sämtliche Werke*, I, p. 126.

Elysian fields

even when it is invisible

[illegible]

*Cf. my "Psychology of the Child Archetype"; also *Psychology and Alchemy*, index, s.v. "Elixir Philosophorum," "child," "hermaphrodite."

[illegible] took the trouble to use his telescope.

[illegible] monistic systems.

[illegible] physical ideas.

[illegible]

explanation. How has the death of Christ brought us redemption when no one feels redeemed? In what way is Jesus a God-man and what is such a being? What is the Trinity about, and the parthenogenesis, the eating of the body and the drinking of the blood, and all the rest of it? What connection can there be between the world of such concepts and the everyday world, whose material reality is the concern of natural science on the widest possible scale? At least sixteen hours out of twenty-four we live exclusively in this everyday world, and the remaining eight we spend preferably in an unconscious condition. Where and when does anything take place to remind us even remotely of phenomena like angels, miraculous feedings, beatitudes, the resurrection of the dead, etc.? It was therefore something of a discovery to find that during the unconscious state of sleep intervals occur, called "dreams," which occasionally contain scenes having a not inconsiderable resemblance to the motifs of mythology. For myths are miracle tales and treat of all those things which, very often, are also objects of belief.

67 In the everyday world of consciousness such things hardly exist; that is to say, until 1933 only lunatics would have been found in possession of living fragments of mythology. After this date the world of heroes and monsters spread like a devastating fire over whole nations, proving that the strange world of myth had suffered no loss of vitality during the centuries of reason and enlightenment. If metaphysical ideas no longer have such a fascinating effect as before, this is certainly not due to any lack of primitivity in the European psyche, but simply and solely to the fact that the erstwhile symbols no longer express what is now welling up from the unconscious as the end-result of the development of Christian consciousness through the centuries. This end-result is a true *antimimon pneuma*, a false spirit of arrogance, hysteria, woolly-mindedness, criminal amorality, and doctrinaire fanaticism, a purveyor of shoddy spiritual goods, spurious art, philosophical stutterings, and Utopian humbug, fit only to be fed wholesale to the mass man of today. That is what the post-Christian spirit looks like.

V

CHRIST, A SYMBOL OF THE SELF

68 The dechristianization of our world, the Luciferian development of science and technology, and the frightful material and moral destruction left behind by the second World War have been compared more than once with the eschatological events foretold in the New Testament. These, as we know, are concerned with the coming of the Antichrist: "This is Antichrist, who denieth the Father and the Son."[1] "Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus . . . is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh."[2] The Apocalypse is full of expectations of terrible things that will take place at the end of time, before the marriage of the Lamb. This shows plainly that the *anima christiana* has a sure knowledge not only of the existence of an adversary but also of his future usurpation of power.

69 Why—my reader will ask—do I discourse here upon Christ and his adversary, the Antichrist? Our discourse necessarily brings us to Christ, because he is the still living myth of our culture. He is our culture hero, who, regardless of his historical existence, embodies the myth of the divine Primordial Man, the mystic Adam. It is he who occupies the centre of the Christian mandala, who is the Lord of the Tetramorph, i.e., the four symbols of the evangelists, which are like the four columns of his throne. He is in us and we in him. His kingdom is the pearl of great price, the treasure buried in the field, the grain of mustard seed which will become a great tree, and the heavenly

1 I John 2 : 22 (DV).

2 I John 4 : 3 (DV). [illegible] as a prototype.

city.[3] As Christ is in us, so also is his heavenly kingdom.[4]

70 These few, familiar references should be sufficient to make the psychological position of the Christ symbol quite clear. *Christ exemplifies the archetype of the self.*[5] He represents a totality of a divine or heavenly kind, a glorified man, a son of God *sine macula peccati*, unspotted by sin. As *Adam secundus* he corresponds to the first Adam before the Fall, when the latter was still a pure image of God, of which Tertullian (d. 222) says: "And this therefore is to be considered as the image of God in man, that the human spirit has the same motions and senses as God has, though not in the same way as God has them."[6] Origen (185–254) is very much more explicit: The *imago Dei* imprinted on the soul, not on the body,[7] is an image of an image, "for my soul is not directly the image of God, but is made after the likeness of the former image."[8] Christ, on the other hand, is the

[3] For "city" cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, pp. 104ff.

[4] [illegible] "The kingdom of God is within you, or among you" [illegible] "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! [illegible] (John [illegible]) [illegible] stated in the parable of the sower (Matthew [illegible]). Cf. also Matthew [illegible] [illegible] Christ says: [illegible] the kingdom of heaven is within you; and whosoever knoweth himself shall find it. Know yourselves." Cf. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. [illegible], and Grenfell and Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus*, p. 15.

[5] Cf. my observations on Christ as archetype in "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity," pars. 226ff.

[6] "Et haec igitur imago censenda est Dei in homine, quod eosdem motus et sensus habeat humanus animus quos et Deus, licet non tales quales Deus." (*Adversus Marcion.*, II, xvi, in Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 2, col. 304.)

[7] *In Genesim hom.* XIII, 4 (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. [illegible]) [illegible] the image of the Creator [illegible] of the soul, not on the body [illegible] wick, p. 488.)

[8] *In Lucam homilia* VIII (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. [illegible]) [illegible] (". . . [illegible] image of the invisible God. I see that [illegible] an image of an image [illegible] image of God [illegible] likeness of the former image).

the image of God,[10] after whose likeness the inner man is made, invisible, incorporeal, incorrupt, and immortal." The God-image manifests itself through "prudentia, iustitia, moderatio, virtus, sapientia et disciplina."[11]

St. Augustine (354–430) distinguishes between the God-image which is Christ and the image which is implanted in man as a means or possibility of becoming like God.[12] The God-image is not in the corporeal man, but in the anima rationalis, the possession of which distinguishes man from animals. "The God-image is within, not in the body. . . . Where the understanding is, where the mind is, where the power of investigating truth is, there God has his image."[13] Therefore we should remind ourselves, says Augustine, that we are fashioned after the image of God nowhere save in the understanding [illegible] but where man knows himself to be made after the image of God,

[10] [illegible] Migne, P.G., vol. [illegible] Salvator [illegible] substantiae [illegible] (The Saviour is the figure of the substance [illegible]) [illegible] image of the invisible God is the saviour.)

[illegible] immortal.)

[11] *De princip.*, IV, 37 (Migne, P.G., vol. 11, col. 412).

[12] [illegible] tummodo imago est, non ad imaginem" (The Only-Begotten . . . alone is the image, not after the image.)

[13] [illegible] homo

there he knows there is something more in him than is given to the beasts."[14] From this it is clear that the God-image is, so to speak, identical with the *anima rationalis*. The latter is the higher spiritual man, the *homo coelestis* of St. Paul.[15] Like Adam before the Fall, Christ is an embodiment of the God-image,[16] whose totality is specially emphasized by St. Augustine. "The Word," he says, "took on complete manhood, as it were in its fullness: the soul and body of a man. And if you would have me put it more exactly—since even a beast of the field has a soul and a body—when I say a human soul and human flesh, I mean he took upon him a complete human soul."[17]

72 The God-image in man was not destroyed by the Fall but was only damaged and corrupted ("deformed"), and can be restored through God's grace. The scope of the integration is suggested by the *descensus ad inferos*, the descent of Christ's soul to hell, its work of redemption embracing even the dead. The psychological equivalent of this is the integration of the collective unconscious which forms an essential part of the individuation process. St. Augustine says: "Therefore our end must be our perfection, but our perfection is Christ,"[18] since he is the perfect God-image. For this reason he is also called "King." His bride (*sponsa*) is the human soul, which "in an inward and hidden spiritual mystery is joined to the Word, that two may be in one flesh," to correspond with the mystic marriage of Christ and the Church.[19] Concurrently with the continuance of this *hieros*

[14] *Enarr. in Ps.* LIV, 3 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 36, col. 629): "[illegible] unde autem homo ad imaginem Dei [illegible] amplius esse quam datum est pecoribus."

[15] I Cor. 15 : 47.

[16] *In Joannis Evangelium*, Tract. XXVIII, 8 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 35, col. [illegible]) [illegible] (Deus anima rationalis et caro) [illegible] a body).

[17] *Sermo* CCXXXVII, 4 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 38, col. 1124): "Verbum [illegible] animam et carnem hominis [illegible] animam et carnem habet et pecus [illegible] animam humanam et carnem humanam [illegible] animam humanam [illegible]."

[18] *Enarr. in Ps.*, LIV, 1 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 36, col. 628).

[19] *Contra Faustum*, XXII, 38 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 42, col. 423): "[illegible] anima humana [illegible] Richard [illegible] The [illegible] Church [illegible]

[illegible] chemical combination.

73 [illegible]

[illegible] Barnaby, p. 120)

[illegible] Cf. "Concerning Mandala Symbolism," in Part I of vol. 9.

[illegible] *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 323ff.

[illegible]

74 [illegible]

75 [illegible]

[illegible] the devil. Cf. *The Writings of Irenaeus*, I, pp. 45f.

devilish nature of Christ's counterpart in the figure of Antichrist. The Antichrist develops in legend as a perverse imitator of Christ's life. He is a true ἀντίμιμον πνεῦμα, an imitating spirit of evil who follows in Christ's footsteps like a shadow following the body. This complementing of the bright but one-sided figure of the Redeemer—we even find traces of it in the New Testament—must be of especial significance. And indeed, considerable attention was paid to it quite early.

76 If we see the traditional figure of Christ as a parallel to the psychic manifestation of the self, then the Antichrist would correspond to the shadow of the self, namely the dark half of the human totality, which ought not to be judged too optimistically. So far as we can judge from experience, light and shadow are so evenly distributed in man's nature that his psychic totality appears, to say the least of it, in a somewhat murky light. The psychological concept of the self, in part derived from our knowledge of the whole man, but for the rest depicting itself spontaneously in the products of the unconscious as an archetypal quaternity bound together by inner antinomies, cannot omit the shadow that belongs to the light figure, for without it this figure lacks body and humanity. In the empirical self, light and shadow form a paradoxical unity. In the Christian concept, on the other hand, the archetype is hopelessly split into two irreconcilable halves, leading ultimately to a metaphysical dualism—the final separation of the kingdom of heaven from the fiery world of the damned.

77 For anyone who has a positive attitude towards Christianity the problem of the Antichrist is a hard nut to crack. It is nothing less than the counterstroke of the devil, provoked by God's Incarnation; for the devil attains his true stature as the adversary of Christ, and hence of God, only after the rise of Christianity, while as late as the Book of Job he was still one of God's sons and on familiar terms with Yahweh. Psychologically the case is clear, since the dogmatic figure of Christ is so sublime and spotless that everything else turns dark beside it. It is, in fact, so one-sidedly perfect that it demands a psychic complement to restore the balance. This inevitable opposition led very early to the doctrine of the two sons of God, of whom the elder was called Satanaël.

was called Satanael.[26] The coming of the Antichrist is not just a prophetic prediction—it is an inexorable psychological law whose existence, though unknown to the author of the Johannine Epistles, brought him a sure knowledge of the impending enantiodromia. Consequently he wrote as if he were conscious of the inner necessity for this transformation, though we may be sure that the idea seemed to him like a divine revelation. In reality every intensified differentiation of the Christ-image brings about a corresponding accentuation of its unconscious complement, thereby increasing the tension between above and below.

78 In making these statements we are keeping entirely within the sphere of Christian psychology and symbolism. A factor that no one has reckoned with, however, is the fatality inherent in the Christian disposition itself, which leads inevitably to a reversal of its spirit—not through the obscure workings of chance but in accordance with psychological law. The ideal of spirituality striving for the heights was doomed to clash with the materialistic earth-bound passion to conquer matter and master the world. This change became visible at the time of the "Renaissance." The word means "rebirth," and it referred to the renewal of the antique spirit. We know today that this spirit was chiefly a mask; it was not the spirit of antiquity that was reborn, but the spirit of medieval Christianity that underwent strange pagan transformations, exchanging the heavenly goal for an earthly one, and the vertical of the Gothic style for a horizontal perspective (voyages of discovery, exploration of the world and of nature). The subsequent developments that led to the Enlightenment and the French Revolution have produced a worldwide situation today which can only be called "antichristian" in a sense that confirms the early Christian anticipation of the "end of time." It is as if, with the coming of Christ, opposites that were latent till then had become manifest, or as if a pendulum had swung violently to one side and were now carrying out the complementary movement in the opposite direction. No tree, it is said, can grow to heaven unless its roots reach down to hell. The double meaning of this movement lies in the nature of the pendulum. Christ is without spot, but right at the beginning of his career there occurs the encounter with Satan, the

[26] "The Spirit Mercurius," par. 271.

of a total extinction of the ego, for then the focus of consciousness would be destroyed, and the result would be complete unconsciousness. The relative abolition of the ego affects only those supreme and ultimate decisions which confront us in situations where there are insoluble conflicts of duty. This means, in other words, that in such cases the ego is a suffering bystander who decides nothing but must submit to a decision and surrender unconditionally. The "genius" of man, the higher and more spacious part of him whose extent no one knows, has the final word. It is therefore well to examine carefully the psychological aspects of the individuation process in the light of Christian tradition, which can describe it for us with an exactness and impressiveness far surpassing our feeble attempts, even though the Christian image of the self, Christ, lacks the shadow that properly belongs to it.

80 The reason for this is already indicated in the doctrine of the Summum Bonum. Irenaeus says very rightly, in refuting the [illegible]

[illegible] is immediately preceded by the following: [illegible] fected in evil) (*De principiis*, II, ix, 2, in Migne, *P.* [illegible]

[illegible] THIS TAKES PLACE [illegible] jumped — well, what then? What, in fact, is in the silence? The Being Ground?

Gnostics that exception must be taken to the light of their Father, because it could not illuminate and fill even those things which were within it,[29] namely the shadow and the void. It seems to them monstrous and impossible to suppose that within the pleroma of light there could be a dark and formless void. For the Christian neither God nor Christ could be a paradox; they had to have a single meaning, and this holds true to the present day. No one knew, and apparently with a few unmistakable exceptions no one knows even now, that the hybris of the speculative intellect had already emboldened the ancients to propound a philosophical definition of God that more or less obliged him to be the Summum Bonum. A Protestant theologian has even had the temerity to assert that "God can only be good." Yahweh could certainly have taught him a thing or two in this respect, if he himself is unable to see his intellectual trespass against God's freedom and omnipotence. This forcible usurpation of the Summum Bonum naturally has its reasons, the origins of which lie far back in the past (though I cannot enter into this here). Nevertheless, it is the effective source of the concept of the *privatio boni*, which nullifies the reality of evil and can be found as early as Basil the Great (330–79) and Dionysius the Areopagite (2nd half of the 4th century), and is fully developed in Augustine.

81 The earliest authority of all for the later axiom "Omne bonum a Deo, omne malum ab homine" is Tatian (2nd century), who says: "Nothing evil was created by God; we ourselves have produced all wickedness."[30] This view is also adopted by Theophilus of Antioch (2nd century) in his treatise *Ad Autolycum*.[31]

82 Basil says:

> You must not look upon God as the author of the existence of evil, nor consider that evil has any substance of itself [ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν κακίαν ἔχειν]. For evil does not subsist as a living being does, nor can we set before our eyes its substantial essence [οὐσίαν ἐνυπόστατον] thereof. For evil is the privation of good [στέρησις ἀγαθοῦ] . . . And thus evil does not inhere in its own substance [ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει], but arises

[29] *Adv. haer.*, II, 4, 3. [30] *Oratio ad Graecos*, 11 (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 6, col. 829).
[31] Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 6, col. 1080.

from the moment of its separation from God.[32] Neither is it uncreated as the wicked say, who set up against the well-ordered good ... nor is it created. For if all things are of God, how can evil arise from good?[33]

83 Another passage clearly shows the origin of this statement. In the second Homily of the *Hexaemeron*, Basil says:

> It is equally impious to say that evil has its origin from God, because the contrary cannot proceed from the contrary. Life does not engender death, darkness is not the origin of light, sickness is not the maker of health. ... Now if evil is neither uncreated nor created by God, whence comes its nature? That evil exists no one living in the world will deny. What shall we say then? That evil is not a living animated being, but a condition of the soul opposed to virtue, proceeding from light-minded persons on account of their falling away from good. ... Each of us should acknowledge that he is the first author of the wickedness in him.[34]

84 The perfectly natural fact that, when you say "high," you immediately postulate "low," is here twisted into a causal relationship and reduced to absurdity, since it is sufficiently obvious that darkness produces no light and light produces no darkness. The ideas of good and evil, however, are the premises for any moral judgment. They are a logically equivalent pair of opposites and, as such, the *sine qua non* of all acts of cognition. From the empirical standpoint we cannot say more than this. And from this standpoint we would have to assert that good and evil, being coexistent halves of a moral judgment, do not derive from one another but are always there together. Evil, like good, belongs to the category of human values, and we are the authors of moral value judgments, but only to a limited degree are we authors of the facts submitted to our moral judgment. These facts are called by one person good and by another evil. Only in especially crass cases is there anything like a common agreement. If, as Basil says, we are the authors of evil, we are saying in the same breath that we are also the authors of good. But man is first and

[32] Basil, [illegible] ... healed ... [illegible] II, (Migne, *P.G.*, [illegible]).

[33] *Homilia quod Deus non est auctor malorum* (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 31, col. 341).

[34] *De spiritu sancto* (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 32, [illegible]). Cf. *Nine Homilies of the Hexaemeron*, trans. by Blomfield Jackson, pp. 61f.

[illegible] in relation to the facts [illegible] is [illegible] to get more. In other [illegible] give a clear definition of the extent [illegible]. The psychiatrist knows what a desperately difficult task this is.

[illegible] from metaphysical [illegible]. When therefore Basil [illegible] has no substance of its own but arises from a [illegible] of the soul, and if on the other hand [illegible] exists [illegible] the relative [illegible] of the soul which must have an [illegible] If the soul was [illegible] created [illegible] corrupted [illegible]

[illegible] from the soul [illegible] must be derived [illegible] The [illegible] presented by [illegible] is [illegible] where he [illegible] that [illegible] substance [illegible] is no such thing as evil.

[illegible]

20 Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 18, cols. 1

from good. He says: "Evil is nothing other than a turning away from good, and therefore evil is secondary in relation to good."[36]

87 Dionysius the Areopagite gives a detailed explanation of evil in the fourth chapter of *De divinis nominibus*. Evil, he says, cannot come from good, because if it came from good it would not be evil. But since everything that exists comes from good, everything is in some way good, but "evil does not exist at all" (τὸ δὲ κακὸν οὔτε ὄν ἐστιν).

88 Evil in its nature is neither a thing nor does it bring anything forth.

Evil does not exist at all and is neither good nor productive of good [οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ὅλου τὸ κακὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε ἀγαθοποιόν].

All things which are, by the very fact that they are, are good and come from good; but in so far as they are deprived of good, they are neither good nor do they exist.

That which has no existence is not altogether evil, for the absolutely non-existent will be nothing, unless it be thought of as subsisting in the good superessentially [κατὰ τὸ ὑπερούσιον]. Good, then, as absolutely existing and as absolutely non-existing, will stand in the foremost and highest place [πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ ὑπὲρ ...], whereas evil is neither in that which exists nor in that which does not exist [τὸ δὲ κακὸν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν, οὔτε ἐν τοῖς μὴ οὖσιν].[37]

89 These quotations show with what emphasis the reality of evil was denied by the Church Fathers. As already mentioned, this hangs together with the Church's attitude to Manichaean dualism, as can plainly be seen in St. Augustine. In his polemic against the Manichaeans and Marcionites he makes the following declaration:

For this reason all things are good, since some things are better than others and the goodness of the less good adds to the glory of the better. . . . Those things we call evil, then, are defects in good things, and quite incapable of existing in their own right outside good things. . . . But those very defects testify to the natural goodness of things. For what is evil by reason of a defect must obviously be good of its own nature. For a defect is something contrary to nature, something which damages the nature of a thing; and it can

[36] *Responsiones ad orthodoxos*. Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 6, cols. 1313–14.

[37] Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 3, cols. 716–18. Cf. the *Works of Dionysius the Areopagite*, trans. by John Parker, I, pp. 55ff.

[illegible]

any damage can diminish.[30]

[illegible]

defect in it contrary to its nature, which is good.)

[illegible]

to that in which there is no good" (CLX,

does not exist; and so the defect of corruption is nothing else than the desire or act of a misdirected will."[40] Augustine agrees with this when he says: "The steel is not evil; but the man who uses the steel for a criminal purpose, he is evil."[41]

91 These quotations show very clearly the standpoint of Dionysius and Augustine: evil has no substance or existence in itself, since it is merely a diminution of good, which alone has substance. Evil is a "certain bad use of things as a result of erroneous decisions of the will" (carelessness due to evil desire, etc.). Thomas Aquinas, the great theologian of the Church, says with reference to the above quotation from Dionysius:

> One opposite is known through the other, as darkness is known through light. Hence also what evil is must be known from the nature of good. Now we have said above that good is everything appetible; and thus, since every nature desires its own being and its own perfection, it must be said also that the being and perfection of every nature is good. Hence it cannot be that evil signifies being, or any form or nature. Therefore it must be that by the name of evil is signified the absence of good.[42]
>
> Evil is not a being, whereas good is a being.[43]
>
> That every agent works for an end clearly follows from the fact that every agent tends to something definite. Now that to which an agent tends definitely must needs be befitting to that agent, since the latter would not tend to it save on account of some fittingness thereto. But that which is befitting to a thing is good for it. Therefore every agent works for a good.[44]

92 St. Thomas himself recalls the saying of Aristotle that "the thing is the whiter the less it is mixed with black,"[45] without mentioning, however, that the reverse proposition "a thing is the blacker the less it is mixed with white" not only has the same validity as the first but is also its logical equivalent. He

[40] Augustine, [illegible], Migne edn. [illegible]
[41] Sermones supposititii, [illegible], Migne edn. [illegible]
[42] Summa theologica, I, q. 48, art. 1 (trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, II, p. 264). [43] Ibid., I, q. 48, ad 5 (trans., p. 266).
[44] "Quod omne agens agit propter finem . . . ergo omne agens agit propter bonum." (Summa contra Gentiles, III, 3, trans. by the English Dominican Fathers, vol. III, p. 7.)
[45] Summa theologica, I, q. 48, ad 2 (trans., II, p. 266), citing Aristotle's Topics, III, 4.

[illegible] that not only darkness is known [illegible] conversely, light is known through darkness.

93 [illegible] St. Thomas [illegible] the sense of "existing." [illegible] Every [illegible] That is what the [illegible] and strives after perfection [illegible] even we could hardly [illegible] good.

94 [illegible] can be represented as a diminution of good [illegible] just as well say [illegible] which lowers our [illegible] above absolute zero. All things on earth [illegible] all things are more or less good [illegible] of good [illegible] no matter whether [illegible] good or as an effect of [illegible] follows from the premise [illegible] that the perfect good could ever have [illegible] the good and the less good [illegible] Just as we [illegible] above absolute zero, so [illegible] people and things that [illegible] created by God are good [illegible] and bad to the maximum degree.

95 It is [illegible] any real [illegible] that we [illegible] This is a contradiction of the truth that [illegible] created the heat is responsible for the cold [illegible] good. We can certainly [illegible]

[illegible]

all [illegible] are good, yet just not good enough to prevent their [illegible] from [illegible].

•

96 One [illegible] call the things that have happened, and [illegible] states an [illegible] lack of perfection [illegible] would sound like mockery.

97 [illegible] does not know what good and evil are in them[illegible] knows them only as judgments about relationships. [illegible] is what seems [illegible] acceptable [illegible] from a [illegible] of view, evil is its opposite. If the things we call good are [illegible] good, then there must be evil things that are [illegible]. It is evident that psychology is concerned with a [illegible] of less subjective judgments, i.e., with a psychic antithesis that cannot be [illegible] in naming value relationships: "good" [illegible] that is not bad, and "bad" something that is [illegible]. There are things which from a certain point of view are [illegible] or very dangerous. There are also things [illegible] which are very dangerous and which therefore [illegible] evil to anyone standing in their line of fire. It is pointless to [illegible] over these evil things, because that [illegible] a sense of false security. Human nature is [illegible] amount of evil, and the evil deeds are as [illegible] so far as human experience goes and so far as [illegible] between them. Only [illegible] difference between good and evil. Inside the [illegible] one [illegible] does not know which of them [illegible] in the world. We hope merely that good [illegible] what seems suitable to us. No one could possibly say what [illegible] good might be. No amount of insight into the [illegible] and [illegible] of our moral judgment can deliver us from [illegible], and those who deem themselves beyond good and evil are usually the worst tormentors of mankind, because they are twisted with the pain and fear of their own sickness.

98 Today as never before it is important that human beings should not overlook the danger of the evil lurking within them. [illegible] real, which is why psychology must insist on the reality of evil and must reject any definition that [illegible] as insignificant or actually non-existent. Psychology is an empirical science and deals with realities. As a psychologist,

[illegible] I have neither [illegible] [illegible] competence [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] empirical [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] what [illegible] at the end is what you put in at the beginning. [illegible] tian overemphasis on [illegible] to the *privatio boni*, thus giving expression to the tendency always to increase the good and diminish the bad. The *privatio boni* may therefore be a metaphysical truth. I presume to no judgment on this matter. I must only [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] cate one another.

99 It is [illegible] Sophia Prounikos [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Clement finds this altogether compatible with the idea of God's unity.

[illegible] should not be carried too far.

44 *Der [illegible]* [illegible] III, 4, ed. by [illegible] (p. 119).

Provided that one has an anthropomorphic God-image—and every God-image is anthropomorphic in a more or less subtle way—the logic and naturalness of Clement's view can hardly be contested. At all events this view, which must be some two hundred years older than the quotations given above, proves that the concept of evil does not necessarily lead to Manichaean dualism and so does not endanger the unity of the God-image. As a matter of fact it guarantees that unity on a plane beyond the crucial difference between the Yahwistic and the Christian points of view. Yahweh is notoriously unjust, and injustice is not good. The God of Christianity, on the other hand, is only good. There is no denying that Clement's theology helps us to get over this contradiction in a way that fits the psychological facts.

100 It is therefore worth following up Clement's line of thought a little more closely. God, he says, "appointed two kingdoms (βασιλείας), and two ages (αἰῶνας), determining that the present world should be given over to evil, because it is small and passes quickly away. But he promised to preserve the future world for good, because it is great and eternal." Clement goes on to say that this division into two corresponds to the structure of man: the body comes from the female, who is characterized by emotionality; the spirit comes from the male, who stands for rationality. He calls body and spirit the "two truths."[49]

> Man is composed of two mixtures [[illegible]], the female and the male. Wherefore also two ways have been laid before him, those of obedience and disobedience to law, and two kingdoms have been established, the one called the kingdom of heaven, and the other the kingdom of those who are now rulers upon earth. . . . Of these two the one does violence to the other. Moreover these two kings are the swift hands of God.

That is a reference to Deuteronomy 32:39: "I will kill and I will make to live" (DV). He kills with the left hand and saves with the right.

[49] [illegible] . . . and [illegible] . . . "The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," Part I of vol. 9, para. 425ff.

[illegible] God for [illegible] were sent [illegible] God were [illegible] the four first elements [illegible] meat and cry. In consequence of this he is the [illegible] substance [illegible] knowledge which [illegible] the mixing of the elements [illegible] For [illegible] were [illegible] without choice (προαίρεσις) was begotten in him as a [illegible]

That is to say, through the mixing of the four elements in contraries arose which caused uncertainty and so necessitated decisions and acts of choice. The four elements form the fourfold substance of the body (τετραγενὴς τοῦ σώματος οὐσία) and also of evil [illegible]. This substance was carefully discriminated and sent forth from God, but when it was combined from without according to the will of him who sent it forth, there arose as a result of the combination the preference which rejoices in evils [ἡ κακοῖς χαίρουσα προαίρεσις]."[59]

103 The last sentence is to be understood as follows: The fourfold substance is eternal (ἀΐδιος) and God's child. But the tendency to evil was added from outside to the mixture willed by God [illegible]. Thus evil is not created by God or by anyone else, nor was it produced out of [illegible] itself. Peter, who is venturing at this [illegible], is evidently not quite sure how the matter stands.

104 It seems as if without God's intention it was possible without his knowing for the mixture of the four elements to take a wrong turn, though this is rather hard to square with Clement's [illegible] the opposite hands of God [illegible] Peter, the leader of the [illegible] to attribute the cause of evil to the Creator in so many words.

105 The author of the Homilies espouses a Petrine Christianity distinctly "High Church" or ritualistic in flavour. It is taken

[illegible]

[59] Ch. XII: [illegible]

[illegible] trans. by Thomas Smith et al., pp. 91ff. (slightly modified).

[illegible]

52 *Panarium*, ed. by Oehler, I, p. 267.

[illegible] cent., if not earlier.

[illegible]

[illegible] a pattar that comes [illegible] Moreover at [illegible] ness, were able to avoid this mistake.

[illegible]

[56] Cf. Matt. 19:17 and Mark 10:18.

[57] A reference to the slaying of the first-born in Egypt.

[illegible]

for that is the length of his wrath, as is said in Isaiah 26 : 20: 'Hide thyself for a little moment until the wrath is past.' Yahweh's wrath lasts only a moment. If at this moment of divine wrath a curse is uttered, it will inevitably be effective. That is why Balaam, 'who knew the thoughts of the Most High,'[59] when called upon by Balak to curse Israel, was so dangerous an enemy, because he knew the moment of Yahweh's wrath.[60]

God's love and mercy are named his right hand, but his justice and his administration of it are named his left hand. Thus we read in I Kings 22 : 19: 'I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him on his right hand and on his left.' The midrash comments: 'Is there then left and right on high? This means that the intercessors stand on the right and the accusers on the left.'[61] The comment on Exodus 15 : 6, 'Thy right hand, O Lord, glorious in power, thy right hand, O Lord, shatters the enemy,' runs: 'When the children of Israel perform God's will, they make the left hand his right hand. When they do not do his will, they make even the right hand his left hand.'[62] 'God's left hand dashes to pieces, his right hand is glorious to save.'[63]

The dangerous aspect of Yahweh's justice comes out in the following passage: 'Even so said the Holy One, blessed be He: If I create the world on the basis of mercy alone, its sins will be great; but on the basis of justice alone the world cannot exist. Hence I will create it on the basis of justice and mercy, and may it then stand!'[64] The midrash on Genesis 18 : 23, Abraham's plea for Sodom, says: 'Abraham spoke thus: "If thou desirest the world to endure, there can be no absolute justice, while if thou desirest absolute justice, the world cannot endure. Yet thou wouldst hold the cord by both ends, desiring both the world and absolute justice. Unless thou forgoest a little, the world cannot endure."'[65]

59 Numbers 24 : 16. 60 Talmud, Berakhoth 7a, I, p. 8.
61 *Midrash Tanchuma Shemoth* XVII.
62 *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary*, trans. by M. Rosenbaum and A. M. Silbermann, II, p. 76.
63 Midrash on Song of Sol. 2 : 6.
64 *Bereshith Rabba* XII, 15, in *Midrash Rabbah* translated into English, ed. by H. Freedman and M. Simon, I, p. 99; slightly modified.
65 Ibid. XXXIX, 6 (p. 315).

Yahweh prefers the repentant sinners even to the righteous, and protects them from his justice by covering them with his hand or hiding them under his throne.[66]

With reference to Habakkuk 2 : 3, "For still the vision awaits its time . . . If it seem slow, wait for it," R. Jonathan says: "Should you say, We wait for his coming, but He does not, it stands written (Isaiah 30 : 18): 'Therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you' . . . But since we wait and he waits too, what keeps his coming? Divine justice keeps it."[67] It is in this sense that we have to understand the prayer of R. Johanan: "May it be thy will, O Lord our God, to look upon our shame and behold our evil plight. Clothe thyself in thy mercies, cover thyself in thy strength, wrap thyself in thy lovingkindness, and gird thyself with thy graciousness, and may thy goodness and gentleness come before thee."[68] God is properly exhorted to remember his good qualities. There is even a tradition that God prays to himself: "May it be My will that My mercy may suppress My anger, and that My compassion may prevail over My other attributes."[69] This tradition is borne out by the following story:

R. Ishmael the son of Elisha said: I once entered the innermost sanctuary to offer incense, and there I saw Akathriel[70] Jah, Lord of Hosts,[71] seated upon a high and exalted throne. He said to me: Ishmael, my son, bless me! And I answered: May it be Thy will that Thy mercy may suppress Thy anger, and that Thy compassion may prevail over Thy other attributes, so that Thou mayest deal with Thy children according to the attribute of mercy, and mayest stop short of the limit of strict justice. And He nodded to me with His head.[72]

It is not difficult to see from these quotations what was the effect of Job's encounter with God. It became the starting point for religious speculation inside Judaism and through its media[illegible]

[66] [illegible] Pesahim [illegible]
[67] [illegible] Sanhedrin [illegible]
[68] [illegible] Berakoth [illegible]
[69] [illegible]
[70] Akathriel is a name [illegible] composed of [illegible] the name of God.
[71] [illegible] the Lord of Hosts.
[72] [illegible] Berakoth 7a [illegible]

of the Cabala, it evidently had an influence on Jakob Böhme. In his writings we find a similar ambivalence, namely the love and the wrath-fire of God, in which Lucifer burns for ever.[73]

Since psychology is not metaphysics, no metaphysical dualism can be derived from, or imputed to, its statements concerning the equivalence of opposites.[74] It knows that equivalent opposites are necessary conditions inherent in the act of cognition, and that without them no discrimination would be possible. It is not exactly probable that anything so intrinsically bound up with the act of cognition should be at the same time a property of the object. It is far easier to suppose that it is primarily our consciousness which names and evaluates the differences between things, and perhaps even creates distinctions where no differences are discernible.

I have gone into the doctrine of the *privatio boni* at such length because it is in a sense responsible for a too optimistic conception of the evil in human nature and for a too pessimistic view of the human soul. To offset this, early Christianity, with unerring logic, balanced Christ against an Antichrist. For how can you speak of "high" if there is no "low," or "right" if there is no "left," of "good" if there is no "bad," and the one is as real as the other? Only with Christ did a devil enter the world as the real counterpart of God, and in early Jewish-Christian circles Satan, as already mentioned, was regarded as Christ's elder brother.

But there is still another reason why I must lay such critical stress on the *privatio boni*. As early as Basil we meet with the tendency [illegible] and at the same time to give it a nonexistent character. Since, according to this author, evil originates in human frivolity

[73] *Aurora*, trans. by John Sparrow, p. 423.

[74] My learned friend Victor White, O.P., in his *God and the Unconscious* [illegible] thinks he can detect a Manichaean streak in me. I don't [illegible] towards the very reverse of dualism.

can only be described in antinomial terms,[76] that is, the above attributes must be supplemented by their opposites if the transcendental situation is to be characterized correctly. We can do this most simply in the form of a quaternion of opposites:

UNITEMPORAL

UNIQUE — UNIVERSAL

ETERNAL

116 This formula expresses not only the psychological self but also the dogmatic figure of Christ. As an historical personage Christ is unitemporal and unique; as God, universal and eternal. Likewise the self: as the essence of individuality it is unitemporal and unique; as an archetypal symbol it is a God-image and therefore universal and eternal.[77] Now if theology describes Christ as simply "good" and "spiritual," something "evil" and "material"—or "chthonic"—is bound to arise on the other side, to represent the Antichrist. The resultant quaternion of opposites is united on the psychological plane by the fact that the self is not deemed exclusively "good" and "spiritual"; consequently its shadow turns out to be much less black. A further result is that the opposites of "good" and "spiritual" need no longer be separated from the whole:

GOOD

SPIRITUAL — MATERIAL OR CHTHONIC

EVIL

[76] Just as the transcendental nature of light can only be expressed through the image of waves and particles.

[77] Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 313ff., and "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious," pars. 398ff.

[illegible]
to its end

[illegible]

[illegible]
means point it

[illegible]

by patients.

[illegible]

[illegible] Basilides lived in the 2nd cent.

Elenchos, VII, 27, 12 (cf. Legge trans., II, p. 79).

Ibid., VII, 22, 10 (cf. II, pp. 69–70).

[illegible]

[illegible] is borne upward like a [illegible] towards the region of light, whereas the body, being heavy, dark, and impure, is deprived of the light but nevertheless contains the divine seed of the third sonship [illegible]. This seed is as it were awakened by Jesus, purified, and made capable of ascension, by virtue of the fact that the opposites were separated in Jesus through the Passion (i.e., through his division into four).[86] Jesus is thus the prototype for the awakening of the third sonship, slumbering in the darkness of humanity. He is the "spiritual inner man."[87] He is also a complete trichotomy in himself, for Jesus the son of Mary represents the corporeal man, but his immediate predecessor is the second Christ, the son of the highest archon of the hebdomad, and his first progenitor is Christ the son of the highest archon of the ogdoad, the demiurge Yahweh.[88] This trichotomy of Anthropos corresponds exactly to the three sonships of the nonexistent God and to the division of human nature into three parts. We have therefore three trichotomies.

[86] [illegible] the well-known passage about the [illegible] (Irenaeus, [illegible] I, 3, 6) [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] Paulinus of Nola:

> ". . . regnare deum super omnia Christum,
> qui cruce dispensa per quattuor extima ligni
> quattuor adtingit dimensum partibus orbem,
> ut trahat ad uitam populos ex omnibus oris."

[illegible] [illegible] (pars. 553f.)

[87] *Elenchos*, VII, 27, 5 (Legge trans., II, p. 78).

[88] Ibid., VII, 26, 5 (II, p. 75).

[illegible]

... ing seed of the world) [91]

[illegible]

89 *Panarium*, XXXI, 5 (Oehler edn., I, p. 314).

90 [illegible]

91 Ibid., 20, 5 (cf. II, p. 66). Quispel, "Note sur 'Basilide'."

[illegible]

ticularly important that Jesus corresponds to the third sonship and is the prototype of the "awakener," because the opposites were separated in him through the Passion and so became conscious, whereas in the third sonship itself they remain unconscious so long as the latter is formless and undifferentiated. This amounts to saying that in unconscious humanity there is a latent seed that corresponds to the prototype Jesus. Just as the man Jesus became conscious only through the light that emanated from the higher Christ and separated the natures in him, so the seed in unconscious humanity is awakened by the light emanating from Jesus and is thereby impelled to a similar discrimination of opposites. This view is entirely in accord with the psychological fact that the archetypal image of the self has been shown to occur in dreams even when no such conceptions exist in the conscious mind of the dreamer.[93]

*

121 I would not like to end this chapter without a few final remarks that are forced on me by the importance of the material we have been discussing. The standpoint of a psychology whose subject is the phenomenology of the psyche is evidently something that is not easy to grasp, and is very often misunderstood. If, therefore, at the risk of repeating myself, I come back to fundamentals, I do so only in order to forestall certain wrong impressions which might be occasioned by what I have said and to spare my reader unnecessary difficulties.

122 The parallel I have drawn here between Christ and the self is not to be taken as anything more than a psychological one, just as the parallel with the fish is mythological. There is no question of any intrusion into the sphere of metaphysics, i.e., of faith. The images of God and Christ which man's religious fantasy projects cannot avoid being anthropomorphic and are admitted to be so; hence they are capable of psychological elucidation like any other symbols. Just as the ancients believed that they had said something important about Christ with their fish symbol, so it seemed to the alchemists that their parallel with the stone served to illuminate and deepen the meaning of the Christ-image. In the course of time the fish symbolism

93 Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 52ff., 112ff., and "A Study in the Process of Individuation," pars. 548, 550, 581f.

[illegible]

Is Christ a symbol of the self?

123 [illegible]

but is far from being perfect. It is a paradox, a statement about something indescribable and transcendental. Accordingly the realization of the self, which would logically follow from a recognition of its supremacy, leads to a fundamental conflict, to a real suspension between opposites (reminiscent of the crucified Christ hanging between two thieves), and to an approximate state of wholeness that lacks perfection. To strive after teleiosis in the sense of perfection is not only legitimate but is inborn in man as a peculiarity which provides civilization with one of its strongest roots. This striving is so powerful, even, that it can turn into a passion that draws everything into its service. Natural as it is to seek perfection in one way or another, the archetype fulfils itself in completeness, and this is a teleiosis of quite another kind. Where the archetype predominates, completeness is forced upon us against all our conscious strivings, in accordance with the archaic nature of the archetype. The individual may strive after perfection ("Be you therefore perfect—as also your heavenly Father is perfect."[94]) but must suffer from the opposite of his intentions for the sake of his completeness. "I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me."[95]

124 The Christ-image fully corresponds to this situation: Christ is the perfect man who is crucified. One could hardly think of a truer picture of the goal of ethical endeavour. At any rate the transcendental idea of the self that serves psychology as a working hypothesis can never match that image because, although it is a symbol, it lacks the character of a revelatory historical event. Like the related ideas of atman and tao in the East, the idea of the self is at least in part a product of cognition, grounded neither on faith nor on metaphysical speculation but on the experience that under certain conditions the unconscious spontaneously brings forth an archetypal symbol of wholeness. From this we must conclude that some such archetype occurs universally and is endowed with a certain numinosity. And there is in fact any amount of historical evidence as well as modern case material to prove this.[96] These naïve and completely unprejudiced pictorial representations of the symbol show that it is given central and supreme importance precisely because it

[94] Matt. 5 : 48 (DV). [95] Rom. 7 : 21 (AV).
[96] Cf. the last two papers in Part I of vol. 9.

[illegible]

125 [illegible] horse backwards.

126 [illegible]

oncilable halves. The psychological rule says that when an inner situation is not made conscious, it happens outside, as fate. That is to say, when the individual remains undivided and does not become conscious of his inner opposite, the world must perforce act out the conflict and be torn into opposing halves.

VI

THE SIGN OF THE FISHES

[illegible]

[illegible]

"Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet,
E coelo Rex adveniet per saecla futurus:
Scilicet in carne praesens ut iudicet orbem.
Unde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis
Celsum cum Sanctis, aevi iam termino in ipso
Sic animae cum carne aderunt quas iudicat ipse
(In sign of doomsday the whole earth shall sweat.
Ever to reign a king in heavenly seat
Shall come to judge all flesh. The faithful and
Unfaithful too before this God shall stand,
Seeing him high with saints in time's last end.

the symbol is [illegible] for something far more complex. As I have [illegible] pointed out in my other writings, I do not regard [illegible] symbol as an allegory or a sign, but take it in its proper sense as the best possible way of describing and formulating an [illegible] is not completely knowable. It is in this sense that [illegible] is called a "symbolum." The [illegible] of the words [illegible] the impression that they [illegible] for [illegible] purpose of [illegible] content and [illegible]. [illegible] the fish symbol in the Near and Middle East [illegible] have a long and [illegible] from the Babylonian [illegible], Oannes and his priests who [illegible] themselves [illegible] to the [illegible] the Phoenician [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible].[4] The symbol [illegible] from the [illegible] fish of Manu [illegible] to the Eucharistic fish [illegible] Roman [illegible] purposes it is [illegible] to go into this [illegible]. As Doelger and others have shown, there are plenty of [illegible] for fish symbolism and [illegible] of the [illegible] in which the [illegible] seem like fishes.

178 In view of this wide distribution of the fish symbol, its appearance at a particular place or at a particular moment in the history of the world is no cause for wonder. But the sudden activation of the symbol, and its identification with Christ even in the early days of the Church, lead one to [illegible] a second

> Corporeal shall be [illegible] and thence extend
> His doom on souls [illegible]) (Ibid., p. 457.)

The [illegible] see [illegible]
[illegible]

[3] [illegible] in the [illegible] where I had [illegible] I had Paul [illegible] in the [illegible]. But [illegible] great and pure [illegible] V, pp. 158

[4] Doelger, ΙΧΘΥΣ: *Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit.*

[illegible] Friedrich [illegible] "Isaiah" [illegible] a Jewish commentary on [illegible] the coming [illegible] Messiah [illegible] Jews. This commentary is [illegible] Jupiter and Saturn [illegible] Isaac [illegible] who was [illegible] and died [illegible] that the House of the [illegible] House of [illegible] [illegible] Pisces. These [illegible] also the most important for the [illegible] and especially for the destiny of the Jews. The conjunction took place three years before the birth of Moses. [illegible] Abarbanel expects the coming of the Messiah when there is a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces. [illegible] Rabbi [illegible] that the Messiah was to be expected [illegible] the great conjunction in Pisces, [illegible] Saturn is the star of Israel and that Jupiter means the [illegible] ruled by the [illegible] of Jupiter are Mesopotamia, [illegible] the Red Sea and Palestine. [illegible]

[illegible]

[8] Op. cit., p. 76

[9] *Der Stern der Weisen* (1827), pp. 54ff.

[10] [illegible] "[illegible] of Salvation"—A Commentary on Daniel. Ferrara, 1551.

[11] Corresponding to [illegible] B.C.

[12] [illegible] to [illegible] B.C.

[13] Anger, "Der Stern der Weisen und das Geburtsjahr [illegible]" [illegible] hardt, *Der Stern des Messias*, pp. 54f.

[14] [illegible] Middle Ages [illegible] no with A1 24

as "the star of your god" [15] James of Sarug (d. 521) says the Jews [illegible] Saturn. The Sabaeans called him the god of the [illegible] Saturday is Saturni Dies. [16] Albumasar [illegible] Saturn [illegible] of Israel. [17] In medieval astrology Saturn was regarded [illegible] the abode of the [illegible] [18] Both Saturn and Ialdabaoth, the demiurge and [illegible] have lion's faces. Origen [illegible] Contra Celsum, Michael, the first angel of the Creator, has the shape of a lion. [20] He obviously stands in the place of Ialdabaoth, who is identical with Saturn, as Origen points out. [21] The demiurge of the Naassenes is a "fiery god, the fourth by number." [22] According to the teachings of Apelles, who had connections with Marcion, there was a "third god, who spoke to Moses, a fiery one, and there was also a fourth, the cause of evil." [23] Between the god of the Naassenes and the god of Apelles there is evidently a close relationship, and also, it appears, with Yahweh, the demiurge of the Old Testament.

129 Saturn is a "black" star, [illegible] Dragons, serpents, scorpions, vipers, foxes, cats, and mice, [illegible] Saturn's, says Bouché-Leclercq. [25] Remarkably enough, Saturn's animals also include the ass, [26] which is [illegible] was rated

15 Ye have borne the [illegible] the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves [illegible] Acts 7:43 [illegible]

16 Dozy and de Goeje, "Nouveaux documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens," p. 350. 17 Abu Ma'shar, d. 885.

18 [illegible] concerns the Jewish people or their faith."

19 Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 76.

20 [illegible] VI, [illegible] Chadwick, p. 347).

21 Ibid., VI, [illegible] has a "kinship [illegible] Saturn [illegible] and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 351ff.

22 Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, V, 7, 30 (Legge trans., I, p. 128).

23 Ibid., VII, 38, 1 (cf. Legge trans., II, p. 96).

24 [illegible]

25 *L'Astrologie grecque*, p. 317.

26 Bouché-Leclercq, p. [illegible] based on a [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] plates vol. IV, pl. 56.) [20] *Quaestiones convivales*, IV, 5.

[illegible]

[21] Epiphanius, *Panarium*, ed. Oehler, I, p. 184.

[22] *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, XVI (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 1, cols. 364–65; cf. trans. by S. Thelwall, I, pp. 84f.).

[illegible]

may I destroy Apep in his hour

[illegible]

Unlike Saturn, Jupiter is a beneficent star. In the Iranian view Jupiter signifies life, Saturn death.[32] The conjunction of the two therefore signifies the union of extreme opposites. In the year 7 B.C. this famous conjunction took place no less than three times in the sign of the Fishes. The closest approximation occurred on May 29 of that year, the planets being only 0.21 degrees apart, less than half the width of the full moon.[33] The conjunction took place in the middle of the commissure, near the [illegible] in the [illegible] of the Fishes. From the astrological point of view this conjunction must appear especially significant, because the approximation of the two planets was exceptionally large and of an impressive [illegible]. In [illegible], seen heliocentrically, it took place near the equinoctial point, which at that time was located between [illegible], that is, between fire and water.[34] The conjunction was [illegible] by the important fact that Mars was in [illegible] position [illegible], which means astrologically that the [illegible] with the instincts stood in a [illegible], which is [illegible] of Constantius. If we accept Gerhardt's calculation that the conjunction took place on May 29 in the year 7 B.C., then the position of the sun, especially important in a nativity, [illegible] at Christ's birth would [illegible] double sign of the Fishes.[35] One

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32 Christensen, [illegible] Jupiter and according to [illegible] Saturn [illegible] in De [illegible] Judicum," p. 188.)

33 Christensen, *Le Premier Homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, part [illegible], p. [illegible]

34 [illegible] on the basis of Peters and Knobel, [illegible]

35 [illegible] Albumasar and Albertus Magnus took [illegible] as the [illegible] Pierre d'Ailly [illegible] on the other hand took [illegible] and [illegible] Cardan [illegible] says: "For God [illegible] the human [illegible] Christ [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] just and [illegible] a man [illegible] Kepler [illegible] in his [illegible] der grossen Conjunction [illegible] says that God himself marked such great conjunctions as these with extraordinary and manifest signs visible in high heaven and with [illegible] of his divine Providence. He continues: "Accordingly he also created the star of his Son [illegible] exactly at the time of the great conjunction [illegible] the Fishes and the Ram, near the equinoctial point." Seen heliocentrically the conjunction took place just in front of the equinoctial point, and this gives it a special significance astrologically. Pierre d'Ailly [illegible] says: "But a great conjunction is that of Saturn and Jupiter at the beginning of the Ram. These con-

he, that I may see him.' And it came to pass, when Joseph heard thee say these words, that he was disturbed. We went up together, entered into the house and found the spirit bound to the bed, and we gazed upon thee and upon him, and found that thou wert like unto him. And he that was bound to the bed was released; he embraced thee and kissed thee, and thou also didst kiss him, and you became one.[42]

130 It appears from the context of this fragment that Jesus is the truth sprouting from the earth, whereas the spirit that resembled him is Justice looking down from heaven. The text says: "Grace is the power which issued from thee when thou wast in the lower regions of chaos. For this cause hath David said: Truth hath sprouted out of the earth, because thou wert in the lower regions of chaos."[43] Jesus accordingly is conceived as a double personality, part of which rises up from the chaos or *hyle*, while the other part descends as pneuma from heaven.

131 One could hardly find [illegible] of the natures [illegible] the Gnostic Redeemer exemplified more graphically than in the astrological determination of time. The astrological statements that were quite possible in antiquity point to the paramount world aspect[44] of the birth that occurred at this particular moment of time, and one can understand how plausible was the astrological interpretation of the Christ-Antichrist myth when it entered into manifestation at the time of the Gnostics. A fairly old authority, earlier anyway than the sixth century, which bears striking witness to the antithetical nature of the Fishes is the Talmud. This says:

For thousand two hundred and ninety-three years after the Creation [illegible] There will follow the war of the [illegible] sea monsters, the war of Gog and Magog,[45] and then

42 [illegible] Mead trans., pp. [illegible], slightly modified.
43 [illegible] Augustine [illegible]
44 [illegible]
45 [illegible] There An[illegible] Gog and Magog. This may be an allusion to Rev. 20 : 7f.: "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are

[illegible] the Holy [illegible] the son of [illegible]

The [illegible] commentator Solomon ben Isaac, alias Rashi [illegible] presumably [illegible] important [illegible] and [illegible] Both documents [illegible] the [illegible] of the Christ[illegible] I shall have more to say in due course.

[illegible] together in battle" (AV)

[illegible]

134 The year 531 is characterized astronomically by a conjunction of ♃ and ♄ in Gemini. This sign stands for a pair of brothers, and they too have a somewhat antithetical nature. The Greeks interpreted them as the Dioscuri, "boys of Zeus": the sons of Leda who were begotten by the swan and hatched out of an egg. Pollux was immortal, but Castor shared the human lot. Another interpretation takes them as representing Apollo and Heracles, or Apollo and Dionysus: both interpretations suggest a certain polarity. Astronomically, at any rate, the air sign Gemini stands in a quartile and therefore unfavourable aspect to the conjunction that took place in the year 7 B.C. The inner polarity of ♊ may perhaps shed light on the [illegible] about the war of the [illegible], which Rashi interprets as [illegible]. From the dating of Christ's birth it would appear, as said, that the sun was in Gemini. The motif of the brothers is found very early in connection with Christ, for instance among the Jewish Christians and Ebionites.[57]

135 From all this we may risk the conjecture that the Talmudic prophecy was based on astrological premises.

136 The precession of the equinoxes was a fact well known to the astrologers of antiquity. Origen, helped out by the observations and calculations of Hipparchus,[58] uses it as a cogent argument against an astrology based on the so-called morphomata (the actual constellations).[59] Naturally this does not apply to the distinction already drawn in ancient astrology between the morphomata and the ζῴδια [illegible], the fictive signs of the zodiac.[60] If we take the 7000 years mentioned in the prophecy as dating from 3761, the year denoted would be A.D. 3239. By then the

57 Epiphanius, Panarium, XXX. (Oehler edn., I, p. 2[illegible].)

58 Hipparchus is supposed to have discovered the precession. Cf. Boll, Sphaera, p. 199, n. 1.

59 Origen, [illegible] (Migne, P.G., [illegible]) [illegible]

60 Bouché-Leclercq, p. [illegible], n. 2; [illegible] Boll, Sphaera.

[illegible] tance

[illegible]

[illegible] *Astrologie des Johannes Kepler*

[illegible] d'Ailly would also arrive at A.D. [illegible]

[illegible] ticism in the West.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Boforum, pp. 190ff.

[illegible]

[illegible] Spirit [illegible] broad [illegible] [illegible] when these movements were at their [illegible] [illegible] years of the conventicles [illegible] documents discovered by Hahn throw a [illegible] in these circles:

[illegible] God [illegible] without distinction . . . and that they are eternal.

[illegible] the Godhead [illegible]

[illegible] in naught and are troubled by naught.

[illegible] which [illegible] the Gospels to contain poetical matters which are not true.[67]

140 [illegible] spirit [illegible] people who [illegible] to the gospels [illegible] [illegible] were [illegible] One [illegible]

[illegible] Poverty."

"[illegible] esse [illegible] per [illegible] esse [illegible]

"Item quod nullo indigent nec Deo nec Deitate.

"Item quod sunt ipsum regnum coelorum

[illegible] de malo [illegible]

[illegible] esse poetica quae non sunt vera." (Hahn, II, pp. 779f.)

him and his adherents to cherish such bold expectations as the substitution of the "everlasting gospel" for the Christian message, or the supersession of the second Person of the Godhead by the third, who would reign over the new era. This thought is so heretical and subversive that [illegible] he lived. He believed he was [illegible] the Holy Ghost [illegible] a step. The [illegible] of this [illegible] was [illegible] by the general [illegible] that the epoch he lived in [illegible] with the beginning of the [illegible] of the Antichrist. In consequence, one might feel tempted to regard the Holy Ghost movement and Joachim's central ideas as a direct expression of the antichristian psychology that was then dawning. At any rate the Church's condemnation is thoroughly understandable, for in many ways his attitude to the Church of Jesus Christ comes very close to open insurrection, if not downright apostasy. But if we allow some credence to the conviction of these innovators that they were moved by the Holy Ghost, then another interpretation becomes not only possible but even probable.

141 That is to say, just as Joachim supposed that the status of the Holy Ghost had secretly begun with St. Benedict, so we might hazard the conjecture that a new status was secretly anticipated in Joachim himself. Consciously, of course, he thought he was bringing the status of the Holy Ghost into reality, just as it is certain that St. Benedict had nothing else in mind than to put the Church on a firm footing and deepen the meaning of the Christian life through monasticism. But unconsciously—and this is psychologically what probably happened—Joachim could have been seized by the archetype of the spirit. There is no doubt that his activities were founded on a numinous experience, which is indeed characteristic of all those who are gripped by an archetype. He understood the spirit in the dogmatic sense as the third Person of the Godhead, for no other way was possible, but not in the sense of the empirical archetype. This archetype is not of uniform meaning, but was originally an ambivalent dualistic figure[86] that broke through again

86 Cf. "The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," pars. 396ff.

[illegible]

[footnote] "The Spirit Mercurius," par. [illegible]ff., and "A Psychological Approach to the [illegible]," pars. [illegible]ff.

[illegible]

part of divine revelation until 1950.—EDITORS.]

[illegible] "We have Christ for a rock. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Moses [illegible] so that the waters flowed forth [illegible] [illegible] the water [illegible] [illegible] the water [illegible] [illegible] By the Naassenes, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 1 Corinthians 10 : 4 and I Peter 2 : 4.

[illegible] [illegible]

62 *Opera*, ed. G. Schepps, p. 24

63 Cf. *Aurora Consurgens* (ed. von Franz), p. 12[illegible] that great and wide sea smote the rock and the metallic waters flowed forth.

[illegible] p. 85.

[illegible] the rock, as it were the blood of Christ."

[illegible] forth water from the rock and oil out of the flinty stone."

67 *Von hyealischen Chaos* (1597), p. 272

[illegible] a metaphor used by the alchemists.

69 *De errore profanarum religionum*, 20. [illegible] the "Shepherd" of Hermas.

[illegible] science.

[illegible] for Peter's missionary activity

[illegible]

[illegible] Cf. Doelger, I, pp. 12ff

[illegible]

worldly life of the Redeemer.[13]

[illegible]

Christentums

[illegible] ough, *Jewish Symbols*, V, pp. 4 ff.

[illegible]

[illegible] Significantly [illegible] connection for drawing a parallel [illegible] in early Christian [illegible] for Pisces [illegible] fishes moving in opposite directions, but [illegible] movement dates from [illegible] contemporary with Christ [illegible] of the [illegible] are missing. There [illegible] This is the [illegible] The first [illegible] with its head [illegible] pointing West. [illegible] the same way. The [illegible] by Hipparchus [illegible] facing the same way or moving in opposite directions. [illegible] when the fishes enter [illegible] vertical and the second [illegible] horizontal. [illegible]

[illegible] or *semiotically.* [76] Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder,* p. 89.

[77] [illegible] following p. 18[illegible]. [78] Gaedechens, *Der Marmorne Himmelsglobus.*

[79] Cumont, *Textes et monuments,* II

[8] Capricorn ♑ or ♑.

[illegible] in certain Gnostic-Christian circles.[32] But this assumption does not apply when it comes to eyewitness accounts in the synoptic gospels. There are no statements [illegible]. We have no reason whatever to suppose that these stories are disguised astrological myths. On the contrary, one gets the impression that the fish episodes are entirely natural happenings, and that there is nothing further to be looked for behind them. They are "Just So" stories, quite simple and natural, and one wonders whether the whole Christian fish symbolism may not have come about [illegible] and without premeditation. Hence one could speak just as well of [illegible] for [illegible] the [illegible] with [illegible] now [illegible] the more so as the [illegible] have left no clear traces in the [illegible] of the first [illegible] I cannot [illegible] with any certainty that [illegible] is correct, because I know far too little about Indian and Chinese astrology. As against this, the fact that the [illegible] fish symbolism makes possible a [illegible] that had already been made in the New Testament [illegible] prophecy [illegible].

The [illegible] spring point entered at about the beginning of our era[33] [illegible] the [illegible] of western fish [illegible] so-called commissure. This consists of a band of faint stars forming the middle section of the constellation, and the spring point gradually moved along its southern edge. The point where the ecliptic intersects with the meridian at the tail of the second fish coincides roughly with the sixteenth century, the time of the Reformation, which as we know is so extraordinarily important for the history of Western symbols. Since then the spring point has moved along the southern edge of the second fish, and will enter Aquarius in the

[32] A clear [illegible] astrology can be found in Pistis Sophia, where [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible]. But [illegible] all [illegible] and the [illegible] and [illegible] with [illegible] which will [illegible] and they will say what must [illegible] pass [illegible] [illegible] will say [illegible] because [illegible] have changed their [illegible] and their squares and their triangles and their octants." (Cf. Mead trans., p. 99.)

[33] The meridian of [illegible] the spring [illegible] and that of the star [illegible] calculated on the basis of Peters and Knobel, Ptolemy's Catalogue of Stars.

course of the third millennium.[85] Astrologically interpreted, the designation of Christ as one of the fishes identifies him with the first fish, the vertical one. Christ is followed by the Antichrist, at the end of time. The beginning of the enantiodromia would fall, logically, midway between the two fishes. We have seen that this is so. The time of the Renaissance begins in the immediate vicinity of the second fish, and with it comes that spirit which culminates in the modern age.[86]

85 As the delimitation of the constellations is known to be somewhat arbitrary, this date is very indefinite. It refers to the actual constellation of fixed stars, not to the zodium noeton, i.e., the zodiac divided into sectors of 30° each. Astrologically the beginning of the next aeon, according to the starting point you select, falls between A.D. 2000 and 2200. Starting from star O and assuming a Platonic month of 2143 years, one would arrive at A.D. 2154 for the beginning of the Aquarian Age, and at A.D. 1997 if you start from star [illegible]. The latter date agrees with the longitude of the stars in Ptolemy's "Almagest."

86 Modern astrological speculation likewise associates the Fishes with Christ: "The fishes [illegible] the inhabitants of the waters [illegible] of those whose [illegible] God come out of the waters of judgment without [illegible] the fishes which were not [illegible] in the Deluge [illegible] Those who share [illegible] with Jesus Christ, the [illegible] the Living One" (Smith, The Zodia, pp. 280f.)

VII

THE PROPHECIES OF NOSTRADAMUS

130 The course of our religious history as well as an essential part of our psychic development could have been predicted more or less accurately, both as regards time and content, from the precession of the equinoxes through the constellation of Pisces. The prediction, as we saw, was actually made [illegible] Church suffered a schism in the sixteenth century. After that an enantiodromian process set in [illegible] to the "Gothic" striving upwards to the [illegible] as a horizontal movement outwards [illegible] and the conquest of Nature [illegible] spiritual [illegible] appears to be exceedingly dubious.

131 [illegible] I should like to [illegible] of Nostradamus, written in a letter[1] to Henry II of France on June 27, 1558. After [illegible] year [illegible] with [illegible][2] he says:

[illegible] *Maistre Michel Nostradame* (1605), pp. 96ff.

[illegible]

The [illegible] of [illegible] year shall see a greater persecution against the [illegible] Church [illegible] ever was [illegible] Africa,[3] and it shall [illegible] which time everyone will think it a renovation of [illegible]. [illegible] at that time and in those countries the [illegible] power [illegible] against the Church of Jesus Christ. This shall be [illegible] Antichrist, which shall persecute the said Church [illegible] by means of the power of temporal kings, who [illegible] shall be seduced by tongues more sharp than any sword [illegible] the hands of a madman. [illegible] The persecution of [illegible] shall have its beginning in the power of the Northern kings [illegible] the Eastern ones. And that persecution shall last eleven years or a little less, at which time the chief Northern king shall fail.[4]

However, Nostradamus thinks that [illegible] Southern king [illegible] will [illegible] the Northern one by three years. He sees a return [illegible] the [illegible] by paganism [illegible] the Bible will be burned, and an [illegible] will take place. So great tribulation as ever did happen since the first foundation of the Christian Church. All [illegible] countries will be affected by it.

There are historical determinants that may have moved Nostradamus [illegible] the year [illegible] of the new [illegible]. For instance, Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly [illegible] on [illegible] the eighth conjunction [illegible] which had been calculated for [illegible].

And after the end of the [illegible] revolutions of Saturn [illegible] the [illegible] This [illegible] God alone knows [illegible] changes [illegible] of the [illegible] revolution [illegible] Where [illegible]

[3] Where Roman Christendom succumbed to Islam.

[4] [illegible] and ed. by B. [illegible], pp. 29ff.

[5] [illegible] *Experimental Science*, IV, p. 102.

[illegible] the law of the Antichrist.[8]

In connection with [illegible] Pierre d'Ailly [illegible] Albumasar [illegible] Saturn and Jupiter [illegible] In Part III of his [illegible] Roger Bacon [illegible] the influence of the planet Mercury. Pierre d'Ailly [illegible]

[8] [illegible]

[9] Concordantia, etc., fol. b 5

held that [illegible] and [illegible] opinions were astro[illegible] and especially the coming of the Anti[illegible]

W[illegible] in assuming that these calculations [illegible] was proposed [illegible] as it [illegible] suggestive and [illegible] that the things that happened around [illegible] developments in our [illegible] of the Déesse Raison was in fact [illegible] anti-Christian trend that was pursued from then onwards.

[illegible] of the age might mean a new aeon and [illegible] with the new [illegible] calendar which began with September 22, 1792 [illegible] anti-Christian character.[8] What had been brewing up [illegible] then became a manifest event in the French Revolution [illegible] set in with the Renaissance and ran parallel with the [illegible] The time seemed [illegible] for a variety of reasons [illegible] was [illegible] the precession of the equinoxes reached [illegible] in the year 1789. Saturn was [illegible] and regarded the year [illegible] This critical year was combined with another

[8] Cf. Thorndike, IV, p. 105.

[illegible] have the meaning [illegible] Volta re's "écraser l'infâme."

[illegible] suggest that a conscious attempt was made [illegible] on the basis of the precession.

[illegible] were regarded as [illegible] at least as a rule [illegible] the spring point.

[illegible] to have mentioned Pierre d'Ailly's argument [illegible] De octava [illegible]

tradition basing itself on periods of ten revolutions of Saturn, each period taking three hundred years. Pierre d'Ailly cites Albumasar, who says in his *Magnae coniunctiones*: "They said that the change shall come when ten revolutions of Saturn have been completed, and that the permutation of Saturn is particularly appropriate to the mutable signs [illegible]."[47] According to Pierre d'Ailly, a Saturn period came to an end in 11 B.C., and he connects this with the appearance of Christ. Another period ended in A.D. 289; this he connects with Manichaeism. The year 589 follows, and 1189 [illegible] the reign of Pope Innocent III, 1789 announces a schism of the Church, and 1789 signalizes by inference the coming of the Antichrist. Evidently to the text [illegible] the archetype had long been ready and was only waiting for the time to be fulfilled. That a usurper from the North would seize power[49] is easily understood when we consider that the Antichrist is something of a devil, the devil or the devil's son, and is therefore Typhon or Set, who has his holy abode in the North. Typhon's power is triadic, possessing two confederates, one in the East and one in the South. This power corresponds to the "lower triad."[50]

157 Nostradamus, the learned physician and astrologer, would certainly have been familiar with the idea of the North as the region of the devil, unbelievers, and all things evil. The idea,

anno 1789 post illum augmentationem [illegible] octavae sphaerae [illegible] ad annum [illegible] Christi [illegible] anni 1789 [illegible] octavae sphaerae [illegible] anni 255 [illegible] And after that shall be the [illegible] of Saturn to the year 1789, and this shall be after the said conjunction by 97 years or thereabouts; and between the said conjunction and the [illegible] of the 10 revolutions there shall be a standstill of the eighth sphere [illegible] years, which is evident from this, that the standstill of the eighth sphere shall be in the [illegible] year after the position of the [illegible], which according to the astronomical tables are assigned to the end of the year of Christ [illegible] in the year of Christ 1789, and if you add 25 years to this, you arrive at the year 1789 aforesaid. Hence it is again evident that from this year of Christ 1414 to the standstill of the eighth sphere there will be 355 complete years.)

48 Fol. d 6.

49 It is not clear from the text whether the same "persecution" is meant or a new one. The latter would be possible.

50 Cf. "The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," pars. 425f., 436ff.

as St. Eucherius of Lyons (d. 450) remarks,[16] goes back to Jeremiah 1:14: "From the north shall an evil wind break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land,"[17] and other passages such as Isaiah 14:12f.:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of assembly in the far north.[18]

The Benedictine monk Rhabanus Maurus (d. 856) says that "the north wind is the harshness of persecution" and "a figure of the old enemy."[19] The north wind therefore signifies the devil, as is evident from Job 26:7: "He stretcheth out the north over the empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing."[20] Rhabanus interprets this as meaning that "God allows the devil to rule the nations of those who are empty of his grace."[21] St. Augustine says: "Who is that north wind, save him who said: I will set my seat in the north, I will be like the most High? The devil hath ruled over the wicked and possessed the nations," etc.[22]

158 The Victorine monk Garnerius says that the "malign spirit was called Aquilo, the north wind. Its coldness meant the torpor of sinners."[23] Adam of St. Victor mentioned there was a frightful dragon sleeping in the north from which all evil comes. From its mouth and nostrils emanated smoke of a triple nature,[24] the threefold ignorance, namely of good and evil, of true and

[16] Migne, P.L., vol. 50, col. 740.

[17] "Ab Aquilone pandetur malum super omnes habitatores terrae." (DV)

[18] "Quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris, corruisti in terram qui vulnerabas gentes: Qui dicebas in corde tuo: in caelum conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis" (trans. is AV, last line RSV).

[19] Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 860.

[20] This is an obvious analogy of the pneuma brooding on the face of the deep.

[21] "... quod eorum mentibus qui gratia sua vacui, diabolum Deus dominari permittit."

[22] Enar. in Ps. XLVII, 3, Migne, P.L., vol. 36, col. 535.

[23] Sancti Victoris Parisiensis Gregorianum, Migne, P.L., vol. 193, cols. 59f.

[24] Allusion to the lower triad.

false of heart, and unfeeling.[25] "That is the smoke," says Adam Scotus, "which the prophet Ezekiel, in his vision of God, saw coming from the north,[26] the smoke of which Isaiah speaks."[27] The pious author never stops to think how remarkable it is that the prophet's vision of God should be blown along on the wings of the north wind, wrapped in the devilish smoke of threefold ignorance. Where there is smoke there is fire. Hence the "great cloud" had "brightness round about it, and fire flashing forth continually, and in the midst of the fire, as it were gleaming bronze."[28] The north wind comes from the region of fire and, despite its coldness, is a "ventus urens," a burning wind, as Gregory the Great calls it, referring to Job 27:21.[29] This wind is the malign spirit "who rouses up the flames of lust in the heart, and kindles every living thing to sin." "Through the breath of evil incitement to earthly pleasures he inflames the hearts of the wicked to burn." As Jeremiah 1:13 says: "I see a boiling pot, facing away from the north." In these quotations from Gregory we hear a faint echo of the ancient idea of the fire in the north, which is still very much alive in Ezekiel, whose cloud of fire appears from the north, whence "an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land."[30]

159 In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that Nostradamus warns against the usurper from the north when foretelling the coming of the Antichrist. Even before the Reformation the Antichrist was a popular figure in folklore, as the numerous editions of the "Entkrist"[31] in the second half of the

25 *De tripartito tabernaculo*, III, c. 9. Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 198, col. 761. Adam Scotus speaks of the darkness of the smoke from the north. Pseudo-Clement (*Homilies* XIX, 12) stresses the role of unconsciousness (agnoia). Honorius of Autun (*Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 518) says: "By the north, where the sun lies hidden under the earth, Matthew is meant, who describes the divinity of Christ hidden under the flesh." This confirms the chthonic nature of the triad.

26 Ezek. 1:4: "And I saw, and behold a whirlwind came out of the north, and a great cloud."

27 Isaiah 14:31: "Howl, O gate; cry, O city; all Philistia is thrown down; for a smoke shall come from the north, and there is none that shall escape his troop."

28 Ezek. 1:4.

29 "A burning wind shall take him up and carry him away, and as a whirlwind shall snatch him from his place." (*In Expositionem beati Job Moralia*, Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 76, cols. 54f.)

30 Jer. 1:13f.

31 Cf. *Symbols of Transformation*, par. 565.

fifteenth century shows.[32] This is quite understandable in view of the spiritual events then impending: the Reformation was about to begin. Luther was promptly greeted as the Antichrist, and it is possible that Nostradamus calls the Antichrist who was to appear after 1792 the "second Antichrist" because the first had already appeared in the guise of the German reformer, or much earlier with Nero or Mohammed.[33] We should not omit to mention in this connection how much capital the Nazis made out of the idea that Hitler was continuing and completing the work of reformation which Luther had left only half finished.

160 From the existing astrological data, therefore, and from the possibilities of interpreting them, it was not difficult for Nostradamus to predict the imminent enantiodromia of the Christian aeon. Indeed, by making this prediction he placed himself firmly in the antichristian phase and served as its mouthpiece.

161 After this excursion, let us turn back to our fish symbolism.

[32] The text of the various mss. is supposed to go back to the *Compendium theologicae veritatis* of Hugo of Strasbourg (13th cent.). Cf. Kelchner, *Der Enndkrist*, p. 7.

[33] So in Giovanni Nanni (1432–1502). See Thorndike, IV, pp. 263ff.

VIII

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FISH

162 In addition to the "pisciculi Christianorum," the shepherd and the lamb play, as we know only too well, an almost greater role in Christian allegory. And Hermes Kriophoros, the ram-bearer, became the prototype of the "good shepherd," the tutelary god of flocks. Another prototype on this account was Orpheus, the shepherd.[1] This aspect of the Poimen gave rise to a figure of similar name in the mystery cults, who was popularized in the "Shepherd" of Hermas (2nd century). Like the "giant fish" mentioned in the Abercius inscription,[2] the shepherd probably has connections with Attis, both temporally and regionally. Reitzenstein even conjectures that the "Shepherd" of Hermas derives from the Poimandres writings, which are of purely pagan origin.[3] Shepherd, ram, and lamb symbolism coincides with the expiring aeon of Aries. In the first century of our era the two aeons overlap, and the two most important mystery gods of this period, Attis and Christ, are both characterized as shepherds, rams, and fishes. The Poimen symbolism has undergone such thorough elaboration at the hands of Reitzenstein that I am in no position to add anything illuminating in this respect. The case is somewhat different with the fish symbol. Not only are the sources more copious, but the very nature of the symbol, and in particular its dual aspects, give rise to definite psychological questions which I should like to go into more closely.

163 Like every hero, Christ had a childhood that was threatened (massacre of the innocents, flight into Egypt). The astrological interpretation of this can be found in Revelation 12:1ff.: "A woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet

[1] Eisler, *Orpheus—The Fisher*, pp. 51ff. [2] Cf. par. 127, n. 4.

[3] *Poimandres*, pp. 31ff.

[illegible] stars. She is in the pangs [illegible] pursued by a dragon. She will [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Aphrodite and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with the constellation of the Fishes.[4]

[illegible] virgin [illegible] Christmas [illegible] [illegible] Epiphanius[6] [illegible] Epiphany [illegible] the pagans held a great festival:

[illegible] [illegible] has given birth to the Aeon.

165 [illegible] expressly states that he is [illegible] Christian [illegible] worshippers of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] truth of Christianity.

[4] Sepher, *The Royal Art of Astrology*, p. 107.

[5] [illegible] p. [illegible]

[6] [illegible] Part [illegible] pp. [illegible] This passage is not in the older [illegible] at Venice.

166 Virgo, the zodiacal sign, carries either a wheatsheaf or a child. Some authorities connect her with the "woman" of the Apocalypse.[7] At any rate, this woman has something to do with the prophecy of the birth of a Messiah at the end of time. Since the author of the Apocalypse was supposed to be a Christian, the question arises: To whom does the woman refer who is interpreted as the mother of the Messiah, or of Christ? And to whom does the son of the woman refer who will "rule," or as the Greek literally says, shall "pasture" (ποιμαίνειν) the pagans with an iron staff?

167 As this passage contains an allusion on the one hand to the Messianic prophecy in Isaiah 66: 7,[8] and on the other to Yahweh's wrath (Psalm 2: 9),[9] it would seem to point in some way to the future rebirth of the Messiah. But such an idea is quite impossible in the Christian scheme. In view of the description of the "Lamb" in Revelation 5: 6ff.[10] This remarkably bizarre figure with seven horns and seven eyes can hardly possibly be explained in Christian terms. Also the figure develops some very unexpected peculiarities: he is a bellicose lamb, a conqueror (Rev. 17: 14). He makes one of the kings of the earth wish to hide from his wrath (Rev. 6: 16ff.). He is likened to the "lion of the tribe of Judah" (Rev. 5: 5). The verse is reminiscent of Psalm 2: 9: "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel" —rather gives one the sinister impression of a demonic ram,[11] and not at all of a lamb who is led meekly to the slaughter. The lamb of the Apocalypse belongs, without doubt, to the category of horned monsters mentioned in these prophecies. One must therefore consider the question whether the author of the Apocalypse was influenced by an idea that was in some sense antithetical to Christ, perhaps by a parallel or shadow figure

[7] Boll, pp. 121ff.

[8] "Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child."

[9] "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

[10] Boll, p. 44.

[11] He has ... the seven Spirits of God (Rev. 5: 6) ... the seven eyes of the Lord (Zech. 4: 10). The Lamb stands with the seven angels before the throne as ... with the sons of God ... [illegible] since the ... Persian ... and ... [illegible] as "umbra in lege"?

threatened that he is scarcely able to live. The legend is symptomatic of an extraordinary weakness of the Messianic element in Judaism and the dangers attending it, which would explain the delay in the Messiah's appearance. For 400 years he remains latent, and only then does his missionary work begin. This interlude is not so far off the 400 years mentioned in the Talmudic prophecy of par. [illegible]—near enough anyway for us to compare them, if we take this legend as referring to Christ. In the limitless sea of Jewish speculation mutual contacts of this sort are more likely to have occurred than not. Thus the deadly threat to the Messiah and his death by violence is a motif that repeats itself in other stories too. The later, mainly Cabalistic tradition speaks of two Messiahs, the Messiah ben Joseph (or ben Ephraim) and the Messiah ben David. They were compared to Moses and Aaron, also to two roes, and this on the authority of the Song of Solomon 4 : 5: "Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins."[17] Messiah ben Joseph is, according to Deuteronomy 33 : 17, the "firstling of his bullock," and Messiah ben David rides on an ass.[18] Messiah ben Joseph is the first, Messiah ben David the second. Messiah ben Joseph must die in order to atone with his blood for the people of Yahweh.[19] He will fall in the fight against Gog and Magog, and Armilus will kill him. Armilus is the Anti-Messiah, whom Satan begot on a block of marble.[19] He will be killed by Messiah ben David in his turn. Afterwards ben David will fetch the new Jerusalem down from heaven and bring ben Joseph back to life.[20] This ben Joseph plays a strange role in later tradition. Tabari's commentary on the Koran mentions that the Antichrist will be a king of the Jews,[21] and in Abarbanel's Mashmia Yeshu'ah the Messiah ben Joseph is taken as the Antichrist. So he is not only characterized as the suffering Messiah in contrast to

17 Targum on Canticles 4 : 5, in *The Zohar*, [illegible] *The Song of Songs*, [illegible] Wünsche, p. [illegible]. In the Zohar the Messiah is called [illegible] [illegible] *Pistis Sophia* (above, par. 133, n. 41).

18 *Zohar*, trans. by H. Sperling and M. Simon, II, p. [illegible]. Hence it is written of him, the Messiah, that he will be poor and riding on an ass [illegible] (Zech. [illegible]). Wünsche, p. [illegible] [illegible] p. [illegible] [illegible] p. [illegible].

19 [illegible] the Antichrist Methodius [illegible] Romanus, who is also Armaeleus."   20 Wünsche, p. 120.

21 *Chronique* of Tabari, I, ch. 25, p. 67.

the victorious one, but is ultimately thought of as his antagonist.[22]

As these traditions show, the above-mentioned weakness of the Messianic element consists in a split which in the end becomes a complete polarity. This development is foreshadowed in Persian religious literature in the pre-Christian idea of an enantiodromia of the great time-periods and the deterioration of goodness. The Bahman Yast calls the fourth [iron] Age "the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath."[23] On the other hand, the splitting of the Messiah may be seen as an expression of an inner dissension in the God-image, in the character of Yahweh, whose injustice and unmorality must have shocked every thoughtful person ever since the time of Job.[24] Job puts the problem in unequivocal terms, and Christianity gives an equally unequivocal answer. Jewish mysticism, on the other hand, went its own way, and its speculations hover over depths which Christian thinkers have done their utmost to cover up. I do not want to elaborate this theme here, but will mention as an example a story told by Ibn Ezra: In Spain, he says, there was a great sage who was reputed to be unable to read the 89th Psalm because it saddened him too much. The verses in question are:

> I will not remove from him my steadfast love
>   or be false to my faithfulness.
> I will not violate my covenant,
>   or alter the word that went forth from my lips.
> Once for all I have sworn my holiness,
>   I will not lie to David.
> His line shall endure for ever,
>   his throne as long as the sun before me.
> Like the moon it shall be established for ever,
>   the witness in the skies is sure. Selah
> But now thou hast cast off and rejected,
>   thou art full of wrath against thy anointed.
> Thou hast renounced the covenant with thy servant;
>   thou hast trodden his crown in the dust.

[22] Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, p. 111.
[23] *Pahlavi Texts*, trans. by E. W. West, p. 193.
[24] [illegible] supra, para. 168ff.

> Thou hast breached all his walls,
> thou hast laid his strongholds in ruins.[25]

170 It is the same problem as in Job. [illegible]

the long run with a lethal end.

171 [illegible]

[25] Psalm 89 : 38ff.

[illegible]

[illegible] episcopal see in Rome.

Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, I, xi, 1 (Roberts Rambaut trans., I, p. 46).

Doctrine of the Valentinian Secundus (ibid., I, p. 46).

[illegible] and H. Chadwick, p. 304.]

[illegible] the [illegible] that it is [illegible] that the [illegible] is [illegible] [illegible] present [illegible]. This would be equivalent to the highest [illegible] of [illegible] or perfection.

172 I [illegible] aspects of the Christ-figure because [illegible] Christ was assimilated [illegible] a world of ideas that [illegible] removed from [illegible] and [illegible] to an extent [illegible] today. Christ was born at the beginning [illegible] Fishes. It is [illegible] of the [illegible] of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces in the year 7 B.C. [illegible] just as [illegible] the [illegible] reports, there were [illegible] Christ's birthplace. The Fishes, however, are a double sign.

173 At midnight on Christmas Eve [illegible] the old time-reckoning, the [illegible] Virgo is [illegible] in the eastern horizon, and is soon followed by the Serpent held by Ophiuchus, the Serpent-bearer. [illegible] that the two fishes [illegible] special significance [illegible] the two fishes were [illegible] and [illegible] astrology [illegible] gave birth to a son [illegible] the [illegible] had a son [illegible]. It is [illegible] the prophet Jonah [illegible] goes back to an [illegible] night sea [illegible] and [illegible] the hero is swallowed by a [illegible] and [illegible] reborn. The redemptory [illegible] Joshua [illegible] is connected with the fish. Joshua is the son of Nun, and Nun means fish. The Joshua ben Nun of [illegible] legend had dealings with a fish that was [illegible] was revived by a drop of water from the fountain of life.[34]

[32] Name [illegible] which merges with Pisces and whose [illegible] and [illegible] tion, para. 308ff.

[33] "Yahweh is salvation."

[34] Koran, Sura [illegible] p. 241

[illegible] Th[illegible] Great M[illegible] are usually a danger to their sons. [illegible] mentions a fish representation on an early [illegible] one fish devouring the other.[illegible] The name [illegible] star at the [illegible] constellation known as the Southern Fish, [illegible] might be interpreted [illegible] in every conceivable form [illegible] attributed to fishes, which are [illegible] an emblem of the [illegible] of the world and of [illegible] They owe these bad [illegible] relationship with the mother and [illegible] Astarte, Atargatis, or [illegible]. As the planet Venus [illegible] exaltation in the zodiacal sign of the fishes. [illegible] as well as [illegible] of [illegible] have always and [illegible] qualities [illegible] special and [illegible] significance. [illegible] is based at least in [illegible] expect to [illegible] and in that capacity to catch [illegible] the [illegible] The [illegible] Christian [illegible] Symbol[illegible] God's [illegible] The Jewish [illegible] the Leviathan [illegible] food [illegible]

[illegible] long has never been traced.

[26] Picinellus, *Mundus symbolicus* (1680-81), Lib. VI, cap. 1.

[27] Bouché-Leclercq, p. 147.

[28] [illegible] meanings are [illegible] [illegible] like a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] thereupon remained fixed thereto."

[illegible] *in Hexa*[illegible] [illegible] regard see Picinellus, Lib. VI, cap. 1.

faithful in Paradise. After Jerome, the faithful themselves are fishes.[39] Christ is not only a fisher but the fish that is "eaten as a fish of the eucharist."[40] Augustine says in his *Confessions*: "But the earth ... the Fish that was drawn from the deep, at the table which thou hast prepared for them that believe; for the fish was drawn from the deep in order to nourish the needy ones of earth."[41] St. Augustine is referring to the meal of fishes eaten by the disciples at Emmaus (Luke 24:43). We come across the "healing fish" in the story of Tobit: the angel Raphael helps Tobit to catch the fish that is about to eat him, and shows him how to make a magic "smoke" against evil spirits from the heart and liver of the fish and how he can heal his father's blindness with its gall (Tobit 6:1ff.).

175 St. Peter Damian (d. 1072) describes monks as fishes, because all pious men are little fishes leaping in the net of the Great Fisher.[42] In the Pectorios inscription (beginning of the fourth century) believers are called the "divine descendants of the heavenly fish."[43]

176 The fish of Manu is a saviour,[44] identified in legend with Vishnu, who had assumed the form of a small goldfish. He begs Manu to take him home, because he was afraid of being de-

39 Scheftelowitz, "Das Fisch-Symbol im Judentum und Christentum," p. 365.
40 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, V, pp. 41ff.
41 Lib. XIII, cap. XXI (Cf. trans. by F. J. Sheed, p. 274, modified).
42 "The cloister of a monastery is indeed a fishpond of souls, and fish live there in" (Picinellus, *Mundus*).

An Alexandrian hymn from the 2nd cent. runs:

> "Fisher of men, whom Thou to life dost bring!
> From the evil sea of sin
> And from the billowy strife
> Gathering pure fishes in,
> Caught with sweet bait of life."

(*Writings of Clement of Alexandria*, trans. by W. Wilson, I, p. 344. Cf. Doelger, ΙΧΘΥΣ, I, p. 4.) Tertullian, *De baptismo*, cap. I, says: "But we little fishes, after the example of our ΙΧΘΥΣ Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently abiding in that water." (Trans. by S. Thelwall, I, pp. 231-32.) The disciples of Gamaliel the Elder (beginning of 1st cent.) were named after various kinds of fishes. *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, cap. 40 (cf. trans. by J. Goldin, p. 166), cited in Scheftelowitz, p. 5.
43 Pohl, *Das Ichthysmonument von Autun*; and Doelger, I, pp. 12ff.
44 "I will save thee." Shatapatha Brahmana (trans. by J. Eggeling, I [i.e., XII], p. 216).

[illegible]

thonous

[illegible]

[45] De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, II, pp. 334f.

[46] Shatapatha Brahmana (Eggeling trans., pp. 216ff.)

[47] [illegible] of Vishnu. [48] Ibid., pp. [illegible]

[49] [illegible] ness [Eph. 4 : 7]" (Oulton-Chadwick trans., p. 304).

assumption or one that was purposely kept secret. So far as my knowledge goes, there is no evidence in the old literature that the Christian fish symbolism was derived from the zodiac. Moreover, the astrological evidence up to the second century A.D. is by no means so unequivocal that the Christ-Antichrist motif could be deduced [illegible] from the position of the Fishes [illegible] was not stressed [illegible] was significant. Finally, as Doelger rightly emphasizes, the Ichthys was always thought of as [illegible] though here we must point out that in the astrological interpretation Christ is but one of the fishes, the other fish being assigned to the Antichrist. [illegible] for supposing that [illegible] of the Fishes could have served as the Ichthys prototype.

178 Pagan fish symbolism plays in comparison a far greater role. [illegible] the Jews [illegible] Scheftelowitz [illegible] Jewish [illegible] the blessed in Paradise. [illegible] graves [illegible] sepulchral symbols. [illegible] in this connection [illegible] in the water of the doctrine [illegible] to fishes [illegible] was [illegible] also has a Messianic significance. According to the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, Leviathan shall rise from the sea [illegible] Messiah. [illegible] corresponding to the fish from the [illegible] mentioned in a

[illegible]

[illegible] Scheftelowitz, p. 375. 50 Ibid., p. 3

[illegible] Cf. Goodenough, V, pp. 35ff.

[illegible]

pp. 122f. and 134f.

[illegible]

56 Wirth, *Aus orientalischen Chroniken*, p. 199.

57 Ibid., pp. 161, 198.

[illegible]

59 Eisler, *Orpheus—The Fisher*, Pl. LXIV.

60 See *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 28.

[illegible] the "spirit of gravity."

63 *Psychological Types*, pars. 456ff.

179 Since olden times, not only among the Jews but all over the Near East, the birth of an outstanding human being has been identified with the rising of a star. Thus Balaam prophesies (Num. 24 : 17)

> I shall see him, but not now,
> I shall behold him, but not nigh,
> a star shall come forth out of Jacob. . . .

180 Always the hope of a Messiah is connected with the appearance of a star. According to the Zohar, the fish that swallowed Jonah died, but revived after three days and then spewed him out again. "Through the fish we shall find a medicament for the whole world." [64] This text is medieval but comes from a trustworthy source. The "very great[65] and pure fish from the fountain" mentioned in the Abercius inscription is, in the opinion of Scheftelowitz,[66] none other than Leviathan, which is not only the biggest fish but is held to be pure, as Scheftelowitz shows by citing the relevant passages from Talmudic literature. In this connection we might also mention the "one and only fish" (μόνος ἰχθύς), recorded in the "Happenings in Persia." [67]

[64] Scheftelowitz, p. 10. Cf. Matt. 12 : 39 and 16 : 4, where Christ takes the sign of the prophet Jonah as a sign of the Messianic age and a prefiguration of his own fate. Cf. also Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, V, pp. 47ff.
[65] Παμμεγέθης. [66] Pp. 7f.
[67] Τὰ ἐν Περσίδι πραχθέντα (Wirth, p. 151).

IX

THE AMBIVALENCE OF THE FISH SYMBOL

[illegible] Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch [illegible] the time preceding the coming of the Messiah [illegible] and the Messiah will [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] great sea-monsters which I created [illegible] and which I have [illegible] until that time; and then they shall be food for all that are left." [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] each other to death. [illegible] them up and serves [illegible]

1 Charles, II, p. 497, modified.

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible] earth.

4 [illegible]

as food to the devout.[5] [illegible] translation:

> Quand tu frapperas Ltn, le serpent brh
> Tu achèveras le serpent 'qltn,
> Le puissant aux sept têtes.

182 He comments: [illegible] two monsters, as it was later.

183 [illegible] embodiment of his evil side.[8]

184 [illegible]

[5] Cf. the *Midrash Tanchuma*.

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible] Leviathan [illegible] superman.

[illegible] of death and the devil.

[illegible]

from [illegible] spirit part [illegible] in other words to [illegible] which is the essence of conscious realization.[illegible] In this sense Leviathan and Behemoth represent stages in the development of consciousness whereby they become assimilated and humanized. The fish changes into the warm-blooded quadruped [illegible] and now, just as the Messiah became in Christianity the second Person of the Trinity, the human being [illegible] from the two sources of God's incarnation.[illegible] What was previously missing in the God-image, therefore, was the human element.

The role of the fish in Jewish tradition probably has some connection with the Syro-Phoenician [illegible] of Atargatis. Her temples [illegible] was allowed [illegible]. Similarly, meals of fish were [illegible] eaten in [illegible]. [illegible] and these customs [illegible] in Syria may well have engendered the Ichthys symbolism in Christianity, says Cumont.[illegible] In Syria they worshipped the [illegible] fish [illegible] Derceto, the son of Militta and the [illegible] Oannes.[illegible] This god is a variant of the Semitic [illegible] we have already mentioned, such as Oannes, the Babylonian [illegible] and Adonis, whom the Greeks called [illegible] Ichthys [illegible] Carthage and to [illegible] can be found in Egypt too. [illegible] Egyptian priests were forbidden to eat fish. [illegible] fishes were [illegible] as [illegible] Typhon's sea [illegible] abstain from [illegible] observes Plutarch.[illegible] According to Clement of Alexandria, the inhabitants of Syene, Elephantine, and Oxyrhynchus worshipped a fish. Plutarch[illegible] says it was the custom [illegible] before the door of one's house on the [illegible] day of the first month. Doelger inclines to the view that this custom paved the way for the eucharistic fish in Christianity.[illegible]

The [illegible] towards the fish is an indication of its [illegible]. It is [illegible] and an emblem of [illegible] on the one hand, on the other it is an object of execration. It

[illegible]

[illegible]

14 Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*, p. 255

[illegible]

17 *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. VII (Babbitt trans., V, p. 19)

[illegible]

where the mummy appears in the form of a fish

V, p. 19)

Ibid. (pp. 100f.)

Picinellus, *Mundus symbolicus*, Lib. VI, cap. 1

the constellation of Set as an animal with long ears. There are paintings showing the heads of Horus and Set growing out of the same body, from which we may infer the identity of the opposites they represent. Budge says: "The attributes of Horus changed somewhat in early dynastic times, but they were always the opposite of those of Set, whether we regard the two gods as personifications of two powers of nature, i.e., Light and Darkness, Day and Night, or as Kosmos and Chaos, or as Life and Death, or as Good and Evil."[34]

188 These paradoxes represent the innate opposites contained in Osiris, the lower divinity, just as Behemoth and Leviathan do in the case of Yahweh. This god-image means that the opposites have to work together for a common purpose when it comes to helping someone, always to reach the heavenly quaternity. This quaternity is also personified by the four sons of Horus, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsennuf, who are said to dwell "behind the thigh of the northern heavens," that is, behind the thigh of Set, who is identified with the constellation of the Great Bear. The four sons of Horus are Set's enemies, but on the other hand they are closely connected with him. They are an analogy of the four pillars of heaven which support the four-cornered iron plate. Since three of the sons are often shown with animal heads and one with a human head, we may point to a similar state of affairs in the vision of Ezekiel, from whose four figures the well-known symbols of the evangelists, three animals and one angel, are derived.[35] Ezekiel says, furthermore (1 : 22): "Over the heads of the living creatures, the cherubim, there was the likeness of a solid plate, shining like terrible crystal, spread out above their heads," and (1 : 26, RSV): "And above the solid plate that was over their heads there was the likeness of a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was a likeness as it were of a human form."

189 In view of the close ties between Israel and Egypt an intermingling of symbols is not unlikely. What is remarkable, however, is that in Arab tradition the region round the heavenly Pole is seen in the form of a *fish*. Qazwini says: "The Pole can

34 Budge, II, p. 243.

35 Daniel 3 : 25 may be of relevance in this connection: the three men in the burning fiery furnace who were joined by a fourth, "a son of God."

[illegible] *Bear* [illegible] stars [illegible] from the picture [illegible] the Pole [illegible] that the Pole [illegible] of Set and [illegible] the four sons of Horus [illegible] According to [illegible] the [illegible] and ruler of [illegible] the Pole [illegible] [illegible]

At the [illegible] point [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] We might also mention the [illegible] north.[30]

[illegible]

[24] [illegible] *Sternnamen*, p. 11 [25] Ibid., p. 15. [26] Jeremias, p. 22. [29] [illegible] p. 33 [30] [illegible]

this sort remained [illegible] as far as the adepts were concerned. What they were aiming at was a more or less conscious [illegible] of the primitive God-image. Hence they were able to [illegible] of God's [illegible] in the midst of [illegible] the Christian conception of God as a [illegible] Above [illegible] and the [illegible] envisaged a paradoxical God-image in which the good and the bad aspects [illegible] in the same divine being in a way that [illegible] with the views of Clement of Rome.

[illegible] is the seat of the highest [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Apollo [illegible] of the [illegible] at the same time [illegible] And that [illegible] [illegible] down to [illegible] [illegible] North [illegible] [illegible] the same time it is clear from St. [illegible] still associated with the [illegible].[34]

[32] Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 456.

[33] Garnerius, in Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 193, col. 49.

[34] [illegible] Migne, *P.L.* [illegible] [illegible] (Ed. [illegible] I, p. [illegible])

X

THE FISH IN ALCHEMY

1. The Medusa

[illegible]

[1] This treatise was not printed together with the *Turba* like the others, but it appears to belong to the same category. The 28th Dictum contains the "Dicta Belini" (Belinus = Apollonius of Tyana).

[2] Cf. Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum*.

[3] Cf. the cult of Proserpina.

[illegible]

[illegible] their prey.

[illegible]

[illegible] same passage is translated as "scales."—EDITORS.

[illegible]

[10] From νῆμα, thread, tentacle.

[illegible]

[18] XXXII, 10.

[illegible] love).[17]

196 [illegible] very strange [illegible] modern ears. [illegible] The fish, he says, [illegible] in the midst of the waters, and whatsoever it touches [illegible] the Holy Ghost. He [illegible] of the Pentecostal [illegible] the [illegible] does not [illegible] towards him [illegible] For the same reason the fish [illegible] the Song of Solomon 8 : 7 [illegible] waters cannot quench love [illegible] the floods drown it. [illegible] about itself from the first moment [illegible] faithful live.

197 As the [illegible] from the Song of Solomon [illegible] with [illegible] love. [illegible] even says that the [illegible] a lover's heart, whose passion not even [illegible] no matter whether his love be [illegible] or [illegible] St. Basil [illegible] power of [illegible]

[illegible]

198 [illegible] how often the medieval [illegible] interpretations of the same [illegible] without becoming aware of [illegible] and

[17] *Polyhistor symbolicus*, p. 411.
[illegible] as a [illegible] and [illegible] like a torch." (DV).
[18] *Homilia in Ps.* 33, in Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 29, col. 371.

dangerous [illegible] the [illegible] for instance, says [illegible]

[illegible] lower regions.[illegible]

[illegible]

The fire is inextinguishable. "The Philosophers call this fire the fire of the Holy Ghost.[25] It unites Mercurius with the sun so that all three make but one thing which no man shall part asunder.[26] Just as in these three God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost are united, i.e., as the Holy Trinity in three Persons, and there yet remains the one single true God, so also the fire unites these three things: body, spirit, and soul, that is Sun, Mercurius, and Soul.[27] In this invisible fire the mystery of the Art is enclosed, as God the Father, Son, and Spirit in three Persons is verily included in one essence.[28] This fire is fire and water at once. The Philosophers name it the living fire ... of God, who unites himself with himself in the living water."[27]

211 Another treatise says of the water that it is the "hiding place and dwelling place of the whole treasure."[28] For in its midst is the fire of Gehenna, which "contains this engine of the world in its own being."[29] The fire is raised by the "primum mobile" and is kindled by the influence of the stars. It never ceases its universal motion and is continually lit through the assistance of celestial forces."[30]

212 It is an unnatural fire, "contrary to nature." It puts bodies to the torture; it is itself the dragon that burns furiously like hell-fire.[31] The fiery, infernal dwelling in nature, Pluton, has a terrible aspect: there is an inferno, namely hell-fire, from which a hellish bath can be prepared. The treatise of Abraham Eleazar speaks of Pluton as a god.[32]

[25] "Philosophi hunc ignem Sancti Spiritus ignem appellant."

[26] "... [illegible] tres una res [illegible] separatio fiet."

[27] [illegible] Deus Pater et Deus Filius ... [illegible] ... et animam hoc est, Solem, Mercurium et Animam" (p. 247).

[28] "In igne isto invisibili arcis mysterium ... in tribus personis Deus Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus ... in una essentia ..." (p. 248).

[29] [illegible] ... over from the [illegible] water of the [illegible].

[28] "Occultatio et domicilium omnis thesauri."

[29] "Continens hanc machinam mundi in suo esse."

[30] [illegible] p. 60.

[31] [illegible] II, p. 125.

[32] *Uraltes Chymisches Werk* (1760), pp. 79 and 81.

193 According to Blaise de Vigenère, the fire has not two but four aspects: the intelligible, which is all light; the heavenly, partaking of heat and light; the elemental, pertaining to the lower world and compounded of light, heat, and glow; and lastly the infernal, opposed to the intelligible, glowing and burning without any light.[36] Here again we encounter the quaternity which the ancients associated with fire, as we saw from the Egyptian conception of Set and the four sons of Horus,[37] and from Ezekiel's vision of the fiery region to the north. It is not at all likely that Vigenère was unmindful of Ezekiel in this connection.[38]

194 In the "Introitus apertus" of Philalethes the secret substance is named "chalybs" (steel). This, he says, is the "true key of our Work, without which no skill can kindle the fire of the lamp." Chalybs is a spirit pre-eminently pure, a secret, infernal, and yet most volatile fire,[39] the wonder of the world, the system of the higher powers in the lower. For this reason the Almighty has assigned to it a most glorious and rare sign, whose nativity is declared to the Philosophical East to the furthest horizon of its hemisphere. The wise Magi saw it at the beginning of the era and were astonished, and straightway they knew that the most serene King was born in the world. Do you, when you see his star, follow it to the cradle, and there you shall see the fair infant. Cast aside your defilements, honour the royal child, open your treasure, offer a gift of gold; and after death he will give you

35 "De igne et sale," Theatr. chem., VI, p. 39.

[illegible] have one body with [illegible] 24.

[illegible] the self [illegible] amounts to saying that the self is the source of energy.

[illegible] has an outer body [illegible] and an inner one of fire.

[illegible] the supreme Medicine in the three [illegible] of the earth."[37]

205 [illegible] particularly interesting [illegible] archetypal ideas that [illegible] the mind of the alchemist. [illegible] goes on to say that the [illegible] at the same time [illegible] attracted by the magnet [illegible] of the steel. The magnet has a hidden centre which [illegible] appetite [illegible] the Pole, where the [illegible] exalted [illegible] afterwards the text says. The wise man will [illegible] and will [illegible] he see the outward [illegible] the Pole marked with the [illegible] sign[38] of the [illegible]

206 In the Pole [illegible] heart of Mercurius [illegible] He who [illegible] both Indies may [illegible] North Star with our Magnet [illegible] This is an allusion [illegible] as I have explained elsewhere [illegible] by the two [illegible]

[illegible] summam in tribus Terrae Monarchas medicinam."

[37] [illegible] *The Hermetic Museum Restored and Enlarged*, II [illegible] *Chemica*, II, pp. 194 and 197.

[38] [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] point of all things.

[39] Probably magnetism is meant.

40 Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 457.

[illegible] Turning back to our text, I [illegible] [illegible] Moses [illegible] [illegible] at the North Pole [illegible] Mercurius [illegible] at the Pole [illegible] [illegible] at the North Pole [illegible] [illegible] Meister Eckhart when he says [illegible] abyss deeper than [illegible] [illegible] nous one in its own right.

[illegible] [illegible] in the midst of the water [illegible] the Holy Ghost [illegible] [illegible] He [illegible] [illegible] on fire by hell."[42]

[illegible]

[41] "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation," pars. 94ff.

[42] [illegible]

[illegible]
other words, a destruction of the *soul*

[illegible]

[66] *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 109.
[67] [illegible]
[68] P. Nigidius Figulus lived in the 1st cent. B.C.
[69] [illegible]

[illegible] by the renewal of baptism.[44] From this it is plain that in the fourth century the wheel of birth was in fact regarded as the horoscope. Sending fire to the wheel is therefore a figurative expression for a [illegible] revival of all the [illegible] components of the psyche, a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] outburst of [illegible].[45] [illegible] nature of the catastrophe is explained by the [illegible] position of the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] as an essential part of every psyche [illegible] the [illegible] stands for the very centre in [illegible] creative or destructive [illegible] come.

2 The Fish

In our discussion of medieval fish symbolism we have so far [illegible] with a fish [illegible] the [illegible] fish with [illegible] [illegible] the first of this is not a fish at all, in the [illegible] more important [illegible]. It [illegible] description of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. That, however, [illegible] Middle Ages, for we have the testimony of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] to be a real fish. [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] he remarks. [illegible] [illegible] fishes. Hence [illegible] says in the [illegible]: Take one [illegible] and one part [illegible], etc. And in the [illegible] [illegible] it says: There is in our sea a small round fish [illegible] bones or [illegible]. Since the gall [illegible] [illegible] from a real fish [illegible] [illegible] to be a real one and since one [illegible] a fish without bones, but hardly without [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

44 [illegible] *Pistis Sophia*, Mead trans., p. 29

45 Fire in this sense often appears in dreams.

46 [illegible] *Turba* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Take [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Arabic transcription: (Bar)Mnds. See Ruska, p. 25

[illegible]

the dragon's stone (*draconitius lapis*).[58]

[illegible]

[57] "Omnibus et sonticibus caecus." [Cf. supra, p. 128, n. 8.]

[illegible]

[illegible] will never become a precious stone.

[illegible] there are no dragons [illegible] such stones, blue or black in colour.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

61 *Lexicon*, p. 209.

62 "The sacred lead of the wise, from which are extracted mercury, sulphur, and [illegible] scientia plumbi sacri sapientum," *Theatr. chem.*, VI, p. 571.

63 [illegible]

64 "De igne et sale," ibid., p. 131.

65 *Philosophia reformata*, p. 305.

66 Pantheus, *Ars transmutationis metallicae* (1519), fol. 9r.

67 *Opera omnia chemica* (1649), p. 317.

68 *Elenchos*, V, 16, 2 (Legge trans., I, p. 154).

... and hence its magical and divine properties ...

... wonderful to look upon."

216 The text says of this fis...

... Hymni et sermones, ed. Lamy, II, col. 770.

... chem in "Instructio de arbore solari."

fying all bodies that are poisoned.[18]

corpora venenata purgandi, etc."

[illegible] that can be communicated.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

58 "Liber de alchemia," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 795.

[illegible]

76 "Natura non emendatur nisi in sua natura."

[illegible] substances or states of substances.

77 "Omne quo indiget."

anew

small, greater than great."

with everlasting burnings?" Isaiah 33

[illegible] of the help-ful animals.[82] In [illegible] the zodiacal fishes [illegible]. All this [illegible] series of manifestations of itself through [illegible] animals. Some of these can be attributed to known sources, but for the most part they consist of formations of [illegible] contents [illegible] manifestations, and the [illegible] or the cooperation of birds and fishes [illegible] illustration of this.[83] The arcane substance, as its attributes show, refers to the self, and so do the Oxyrhynchus sayings: it is the "kingdom of heaven" or the corporeal [illegible].

3. The Fish Symbol of the Cathars

225 The use of fishes as symbols for the psychopompos and for the unconscious contents of the self points to another tradition that seems to run parallel with the Christian. And there is in fact a very informative clue to be found not in the literature of alchemy, but in heresiology. The document in question comes from the archives of the Inquisition at Carcassonne, published by Benoist in his *Histoire des Albigeois et des Vaudois* in 1691.[84] It concerns an alleged revelation which Christ's favourite disciple John was vouchsafed as he rested in the Lord's bosom. John wanted to know what Satan's state was before his fall, and the Lord answered: "He was in such splendour that he ruled the powers of heaven." He wanted to be like God, and to this end he descended through the elements of air and water, and found that the earth was covered with water. Penetrating beneath the surface of the earth, he found two fishes lying upon the waters, and they were like oxen yoked for ploughing the whole earth from sunset to sunrise [from West to East], at the command of the invisible Father. And when he

[82] *Mus. herm.*, p. 343.

[83] Regarding the [illegible] fish and bird in ancient [illegible] cf. Goodenough, V, pp. 58ff. and figs. 65, 66, 69.

[84] [illegible] *Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter*, II, pp. 815ff.

went down he found hanging [illegible] covered the broad sea. And when he went down he found set apart there [illegible] which is [illegible] On account of the floods he could not descend any further, so he went back to heaven [illegible] angels to [illegible] to set up his throne on the clouds, because the [illegible]. He then [illegible] the unjust steward[88] [illegible] his master's debtors [illegible] were cast out of heaven by God[89] [illegible] and his angels [illegible] Satan, [illegible]

A prominent [illegible] to a similar belief. This belief seems to have been [illegible] the [illegible] of the world [illegible] many of the sects. [illegible] Peter [illegible] could be considered as a connecting link with this tradition.

What [illegible] this text is the fact that it contains [illegible] Meyer in his Old [illegible] as [illegible] per [illegible] as that

88 In contradiction to Luke 16 : 8, where "the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely."

89 [illegible] the [illegible] with [illegible] The [illegible] devil. Hahn I, p. 580.

[illegible] of wonderment, and is to be honoured."

[illegible] was originally an "homme evangelisant."

[illegible]

which is pleasant to him.[illegible] In [illegible] case of the devil would naturally be fire.[89]

218 The idea of the two fishes living in the waters would [illegible] for poetry [illegible] needs some elucidation. In this connection I must remind the reader of St. Augustine's interpretation of the two fishes [illegible] they represent the [illegible] and the priest [illegible] the [illegible] temporal [illegible] These two [illegible] are united in Christ [illegible] king and priest.[92]

219 Although the two fishes in the Cathar text certainly do not refer to the miraculous fishes, Augustine's interpretation tells us something of importance about the way people thought in those days: the fishes were regarded as a pair of powers. Since the text is indubitably heretical and a Bogomil document at that, there can be no question of an interpretation of the two fishes as Christ. It may be that they were originally the two antithetical principles or powers from before the creation of the world: Satanael the elder son of God, and Christ, the younger. In the [illegible] Panarium [illegible] reports that the Ebionites believed in a double sonship: "Two sons were begotten by God, one of them Christ, the other the devil."[93] This view must obviously have spread throughout the Near and Middle East, for it was there that the Bogomil doctrine of Satanael as the demiurge

[89] [illegible] Zarathustra [illegible] legend [illegible] was hampered by burning sand when creating the world.

[90] Cf. supra, n. 36, on Artefius.

[91] [illegible] the two fishes mentioned [illegible]

[92] [illegible] Jesus Christ [illegible] king. He is also our priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek. Augustine, De diversis quaestionibus, LXXXI, 2.

[93] Cap. XVI (Oehler edn. I, p. 266).

[illegible]

Migne, P.G., vol. 150, cols. 1096f.

man possesses: he has wrested a patch of soil from the primal state and put it to his own use. That is to say, the fishes will rule this world and subdue it by works, or astrologically, through man and man's working on his consciousness. Oddly enough the plough does not begin, like all other things, in the east, but in the west. This detail turns up again in alchemy. "Know," says Ripley, "that your beginning should be made towards sunset, and from there you should turn towards midnight, when the lights cease altogether to shine, and you should remain ninety nights in the dark fire of purgatory without light. Then turn your course towards the east, and you will pass through many different colours," etc.[99] The alchemical work starts with the descent into darkness (nigredo), i.e., the unconscious. The ploughing or mastery of the earth is undertaken at the command of the Father. Thus God not only foresaw the enantiodromia that began in the year 1000, but also intended it. The Platonic month of the Fishes is to be ruled by two principles. The fishes in our text are parallel, like the oxen, and point to the same goal, although one is Christ and the other the Antichrist.

138 This, roughly, would be the early medieval line of reasoning (if we can speak of "reasoning" here). I do not know whether the argument we have outlined was ever discussed consciously. Yet it would be possible: the Talmudic prophecy concerning the year 5000 (1240) itself leads one to conjecture astronomical connections on the one hand and on the other an astrological allusion to the sign of Fishes favoured by the Jewish masters. As against this it is possible that the fishes in our text are not a conscious reference to astrological ideas but rather a product of the unconscious. For the unconscious is quite capable of "reflections" of this kind, as we know well enough from dreams and the analysis of myths and fairytales.[100] The image of the fishes is so firmly lodged in the common stock of conscious ideas and may unconsciously have expressed the meaning in symbolic form. But it was about this time, in the 12th century, that the Jewish astrologers began calculating the birth of the Messiah in Pisces, and the universal feeling that a new age had commenced was given great expression by Joachim of Flora.

99 Ibid., p. 33f.

100 Cf. Laiblin, "Vom mythischen Gehalt unserer Märchen."

[illegible] astrologically.

[illegible] indicate the double nature of Mercurius.[1]

[illegible] intellectualism, materialism, and "realism."

[illegible] brother of Christ. [2] Mus. herm., p. 345

[illegible] the other bank. At the same time [illegible] and [illegible] I heard the [illegible] The [illegible] and the [illegible] the other two [illegible] and here the [illegible] for a moment [illegible] the highest and the [illegible] They are at [illegible] Here the dreamer awoke with a roaring in her ears.

[illegible] This dream [illegible] and it also has the quality of something [illegible] which is characteristic of the [illegible] Even though the dreamer had acquired some knowledge [illegible] whatever [illegible] the dream may be [illegible] The bank of the river represents the [illegible] so to speak [illegible] that is an [illegible] attempt [illegible] Silver and gold in [illegible] language signify feminine and masculine [illegible] that it is a [illegible] It also brings about a [illegible] the [illegible] The first [illegible] In the [illegible] in the West it is Mercurius. The [illegible] is the One that adds itself to the three and [illegible] all four into a unity. [illegible] with the centre and [illegible]

[illegible]

"The Spirit Mercurius," pars. 282ff.

[illegible] "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity," pars. 184ff.

the old image for God. "God is a circle whose centre is everywhere and the circumference nowhere."[100] The motif of the first coinciding with the fourth was expressed long ago in the axiom of Maria: "One becomes two, two becomes three, and out of the third comes the One as the fourth."

238 The dream sums up in condensed form the whole symbolism of the individuation process in a person who was totally unacquainted with the literature of the subject. Cases of this kind are by no means rare and ought to make us think. They demonstrate the existence of an unconscious "knowledge" of the individuation process and its historical symbolism.

[100] [For the source of this saying, see "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity," par. 229, n. 6.—EDITORS.]

XI

THE ALCHEMICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE FISH

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] remarkable [illegible] an instrument that [illegible] But on the [illegible] is important for the [illegible] to the [illegible] the equiva[illegible] In this way the [illegible] the Echeneis and [illegible] substance. He has so to [illegible] the [illegible] prepare from it the *filius philosophorum*, the lapis.

[illegible] The content [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] as Mercurius [illegible] is as [illegible] Hermes; sometimes Mercurius is a substance [illegible] Dom [illegible] that [illegible] a great deal but say very [illegible] difficult [illegible] in the first place no such [illegible] could be prepared [illegible] that would have come [illegible] the names given to the [illegible] that it was not a definite substance at all but [illegible] Venus [illegible] Micro-cosmos, etc.

[illegible] as the

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[3] *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique* (1787), s.v. "Magnès."

[4] Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 425ff.

[illegible] of the [illegible] 8 Magnesia is [illegible] the [illegible] from which this mixture is extracted [illegible] the root-matter of the stone. [illegible] The complicated procedure for producing the magnesia is described in the [illegible] "Mascula [illegible] Magnesia." [illegible] It is the whitened [illegible] [illegible] says in the *Turba*: "I command you to take the [illegible] something white, as the white magnesia." [illegible] In Khunrath [illegible] synonymous with [illegible] and Aes Hermetis. He calls it "A Catholic or Universal [illegible] Three in One, naturally compounded of Body, Spirit and Soul, the one and only true [illegible] and true Universal Matter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the stone [illegible] Even in Greek [illegible] For the [illegible] only [illegible] Roman [illegible] [illegible] presence and [illegible] of the [illegible] and the magnet and

[illegible]

6 Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 31

[illegible]

8 *Theatr. chem.*, III, pp. 88f.

9 [illegible]

10 Sermo XXI.

11 *Von hylealischen Chaos*, pp. 5f.

12 "Magnesia—the Woman." Ruland, *Lexicon*, p. 216.

13 [illegible]

14 "Duodecim tractatus," *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 456.

15 Berthelot, *Intro.*, p. 255.

16 [illegible] whole therein is mercury." Ruland, p. 216.

[illegible] repelling by local motion."[17]

[illegible]

Reprinted in *Theatr. chem.*, I (1602), p. 44.

[illegible]

[illegible] power [illegible] and upon our fore[illegible] We know [illegible] when I saw [illegible] Even [illegible] We [illegible] the magnet to attract [illegible] for some [illegible] upon us that [illegible] force [illegible] and [illegible] with [illegible] Ars [illegible] These [illegible] bear witness to the [illegible] and thoughtful people who took what they saw to be an inexplicable miracle [illegible] that such an astonishing object was [illegible] the lapis *animatus* [illegible] etc. The magnet, too, had a soul, like the mysterious [illegible] In the [illegible] the magnet appears as the symbol of [illegible] whose [illegible] is the [illegible] of the heavenly and earthly Sun and Moon. This water [illegible] *aqua permanens* [illegible] and wonderful [illegible] These [illegible] the reader may [illegible] those

[illegible]

21 *Emblemata* (162.), Embl. CLXXI, p. 715 a

22 *Commentariorum alchymiae* (1606), Part II, p. 101

23 *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 699.

[illegible] by God's blessing, I have seen with my own eyes." [84]

[illegible] the doctrine of the [illegible]. As we have seen, the motif of heavenly [illegible] like the water, it symbolizes the doctrine [illegible] with the [illegible] stone that [illegible] magnets and magnesia [illegible] substance and [illegible] lead [illegible] Dorn says: "The [illegible] seeks [illegible] a nature like to itself [illegible] the work [illegible]. Nature rejoices [illegible] nature." [85]

[illegible] the *lapis* [illegible] white [illegible]. We have then two [illegible] forms [illegible] a *quaternio*, the [illegible] basis of [illegible]. [86] As the [illegible] both signify the [illegible] thing, a [illegible] of [illegible]. [87] If [illegible] texts [illegible] them as the same thing, and as [illegible] with the arcane substance, then there must be a reason [illegible] from the symbols used [illegible] the two substances to be combined. Sometimes the arcane

[84] The [illegible] of the water in alchemy goes back to [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] as [illegible] that [illegible] thereof [illegible] *Pomarium*, LXIII, cap. I).

[85] "Inquiunt enim, natura naturam sibi similem appetit, et congaudet suae [illegible] (*Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 452.)

[86] [illegible]

[87] [illegible] means living when applied to Mercurius, vivifying when applied to the Quinta Essentia.

[88] [illegible] and Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," in Part I of vol. 9, pars. 425ff.

[89] *Psychological Types*, ch. V, 3.

[illegible] by John Colleson [illegible] perfect metals by natural and physical means."[81]

[illegible]

[illegible] philosophical treatises.[82]

[illegible]

[81] [illegible] known

[82] [illegible] ("Speculativa philosophia," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 298).

the common magnet. The wise [illegible] alchemists have given it this name only because of its [illegible] sympathy with what they call their secret magnet. This is the one "prime material" of their gold and [illegible] the secret. The centre of this magnet contains a hidden salt, a menstruum for calcinating the philosophical gold. Thus prepared, salt becomes their Mercury, with which they perform the masterpiece of the Sages in white and in red. It becomes an acid menstruum [illegible] which acts as a ferment for their work.[34] In his view, therefore, the secret of the magnet [illegible] is the salt prepared by the adept. Whenever an alchemist speaks of salt, he means the most volatile [illegible] of any [illegible] in the widest sense. He could not [illegible] away from its symbolic significance, and therefore included the *sal sapientiae* in the chemical substance. That is the salt hidden in the magnet and prepared by the adept: on the one hand a [illegible] already present in nature. This [illegible] can be [illegible] as the projection of a psychic content.

248 [illegible] In his case it is not a question of [illegible] but of the *Veritas*, which for him is hidden in natural things and at the same time is [illegible] a [illegible] concept. This truth is the medicine, improving and transforming that which is not [illegible] into that which it was *before* its corruption, and that which is not into that which it *ought to be*.[35] It is a "metaphysical substance" [illegible] not only in things but in the human body: "In the human body is concealed a certain metaphysical substance known to very few, which needeth no medicament, being itself an incorrupt medicament."[36] Therefore it is the study of the Chemists to liberate that [illegible] truth from its fetters in [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] must study "true Philosophy" and not the "Aristotelian" [illegible]

[34] [illegible]

[35] "[illegible] medicina [illegible] est [illegible]" (p. 267).

[36] "In corpore humano latet quaedam substantia metaphysica, paucissimis nota, quae nullo [illegible] medicamento, sed ipsa medicamentum est incorruptum." (p. 265).

[37] "Chemistarum [illegible] [illegible] veritatem a suis compedibus liberare" (p. 271).

[illegible] the doctrine [illegible] is the [illegible] the nature of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] virtue and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] before, [illegible] rather [illegible] war. [illegible]

249 Thus the doctrine [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] at the same time [illegible] [illegible] the object [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the body [illegible] [illegible] at the same time [illegible] [illegible] of which the doctrine speaks. The doctrine [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the secret of the art [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and the same thing. [illegible] of all [illegible] [illegible] The [illegible] process takes place [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] tion.

250 [illegible] these reflections Dorn [illegible] to realize the fundamental importance of self-knowledge. [illegible] therefore [illegible]

[illegible] "Philosophi [illegible] [illegible] pare potius quam hedus." (P. 265.)

[illegible]

... and there is no ... [illegible]

... Let him know that ... [illegible]

... [illegible] ... that heaven and the elements were formerly one and ... [illegible] ... being Earth here and all things. [illegible]

Since knowledge of the ... [illegible] ... It is manifestly not a knowledge of the nature of the ego ...

[illegible] ... latvae philosophiae," p. 307.)

[illegible] ... philosophiae," p. 276.)

[illegible] for some convenient and is hopelessly confused with [illegible]. For this reason anyone who seriously tries to [illegible] as an object is accused of [illegible] and [illegible] to do with the [illegible] [illegible] and merely [illegible] [illegible] of the whole he had an image of the whole in himself, the firmament or Olympus, as Paracelsus says it.[illegible] This inner man was the unwitting object of alchemical research. [illegible] [illegible] Our [illegible] [illegible] world and would [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] what the author [illegible] [illegible] to whom or what he belongs and for what end he was [illegible] [illegible] except [illegible] [illegible] and knowledge of the self could [illegible] be formulated [illegible] [illegible] that in this distinction between [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ... p. 171.

An alchemist of the sixteenth century has here put his finger on something which certain psychologists who set themselves up to allow themselves an opinion in psychological matters still stumble over even today. What refers to the objective fact of totality since the ego is conscious of its dependence on it and is directed towards it as to a goal. This recalls the impressive opening sentence of Ignatius Loyola's "Foundation": "Man was created to praise, do reverence to, and serve God our Lord, and thereby to save his soul."[45]

253 Man knows only a small part of his psyche, just as he has only a very limited knowledge of the physiology of his body. The causal factors determining his psychic existence reside largely in unconscious processes outside consciousness, and in the same way there are final factors at work in him which likewise originate in the unconscious. Freud's psychology gives us plentiful proof of the causal factors; Adler's of the final ones. Causes and ends thus transcend consciousness to a degree that ought not to be underestimated, and this implies that their nature and action are unalterable and irreversible so long as they have not become objects of consciousness. They can only be corrected through conscious insight and moral determination, which is why self-knowledge, being so necessary, is feared so much. Accordingly, if we divest the opening sentence of the "Foundation" of its theological terminology, it would run as follows: "Man's consciousness was created to the end that it may recognize (*cognoscat*) its descent from a higher unity (*Deum*); pay due and careful regard to this source (*laudet et reverentiam exhibeat*); execute its commands intelligently and responsibly (*serviat*); and thereby afford the psyche as a whole the optimum degree of life and development (*salvet animam suam*)."

254 This paraphrase not only sounds rationalistic but is meant to be so, for despite every effort the modern mind no longer understands our two-thousand-year-old theological language unless it accords with reason. As a result the danger that lack of understanding will be replaced by lipservice, affectation,

[45] *Exercitia spiritualia*, "Principium et Fundamentum": "Homo creatus est ut laudet Deum Dominum nostrum, ei reverentiam exhibeat, eique serviat, et per haec salvet animam suam." See trans. by Rickaby, p. 18.

[illegible] turned [illegible] or else by resignation and indifference has long since come to pass.

[illegible]

We find the [illegible] importance [illegible] for the [illegible] process of transformation expressed [illegible] [illegible] Mercurius [illegible] [illegible] Metatron [illegible] [illegible] be [illegible] with [illegible] The

"De transmutatione metallica," *Art. aurif.*, II, p. [illegible]

[illegible] furnish them with spiritual gifts" (p. [illegible])

[illegible]

transformation is brought about by the coniunctio, which forms the essence of the work.[50]

The Rosarium [illegible] a so-called [illegible] cited by the [illegible] Magus Philosophus:[51] [illegible] "This stone is under thee, as to obedience; above thee, as to dominion; therefore from thee, as to knowledge; about thee, as to equals."[52] The passage is somewhat obscure. Nevertheless it can be gathered that the stone stands in an ambivalent relationship to man: the adept can expect obedience from it, but on the other hand the stone exercises dominion over him. Since the stone is a matter of "knowledge" or science, it springs from man. But it is outside him, in his surroundings, among his "equals," i.e., those of like mind. This description fits the paradoxical situation of the self, as its symbolism shows. It is the smallest of the small, easily overlooked and pushed aside. Indeed, it is in need of help and must be perceived, protected, and as it were built up by the conscious mind, just as if it did not exist at all and were called into being only through man's care and devotion. As against this, we know from experience that it had long been there and is older than the ego, and that it is actually the secret *spiritus rector* of our fate. The self does not become conscious by itself, but has always been taught, if at all, through a tradition of knowing (the *purusha/atman* teaching, for instance). Since it stands for the essence of individuation, and individuation is impossible without a relationship to one's environment, it is found among those of like mind with whom individual relations can be established. The self, moreover, is an archetype that invariably expresses a situation within which the ego is contained. Therefore, like every archetype, the self cannot be localized in an individual

50 "The whole perfection of the magistery consists in the taking of conjoined [illegible] (p. 43). The Interpretatio cuiusdam epistolae Alexandri Macedonum regis (Art. aurif., I, p. 384) says: "And know that nothing is born without male and female." And in the "Tractatus Aristotelis" it is said: "Marriage is the mingling of the subtle with the dense." Cf. "Psychology of the Transference," index, s.v. coniunctio.

51 The text has "Ma[illegible]" (*Art. aurif.*, I, p. 310), probably a miswriting of Magus, who is a known author.

52 "Hic lapis est subtus te, quantum ad obedientiam; supra te, quoad dominium; ergo a te, quantum ad scientiam; circa te, quantum ad aequales" (*Art. aurif.*, I, p. 310).

[illegible] time. [illegible] with activated archetypes.)

[illegible] Rosarius [illegible] a parallel to Morienus:[63] [illegible] than else[illegible] is extracted [illegible] [illegible] so also is [illegible] [illegible] by knowledge. [illegible] [illegible] is enclosed in thee and [illegible] [illegible] and so [illegible]

This [illegible] Morienus. [illegible] from [illegible] by God [illegible] is its *prima materia* [illegible] the so[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]

63 [illegible] seems to me [illegible] Morienus is the maker.

64 The text has "ipsum." But the object here is "res."

65 [illegible] et contra." (*Art. aurif.*, I, pp. [illegible])

66 "The Spirit Mercurius," pars. 264ff.

unconscious is made conscious and "fixed" in the mind. For without the existence of conscious concepts apperception is, as we know, impossible. This explains numerous neurotic disturbances which arise from the fact that certain contents are constellated in the unconscious but cannot be assimilated owing to the lack of apperceptive concepts that would "grasp" them. That is why it is so extremely important to tell children fairytales and legends, and to inculcate religious ideas (dogmas) into grown-ups, because these things are instruments and symbols whereby unconscious contents can be canalized into consciousness, interpreted, and integrated. Failing this, their energy flows off into conscious contents which, normally, are not much emphasized, and intensifies them to pathological proportions. We then get apparently groundless phobias and obsessions—crazes, idiosyncrasies, hypochondriac ideas, and intellectual perversions suitably camouflaged in social, religious, or political garb.

260 The alchemists' [illegible] is a kind of [illegible] tastasis, the restoration of an original state [illegible] the [illegible] of the beginning and [illegible]. This is exactly what happens in the individuation process, which [illegible] take the form of a Christian transformation [illegible]. Except [illegible] as [illegible] experience in Zen [illegible] a psychological process of development in which the original propensity to wholeness becomes a conscious happening.

261 For the alchemist it was clear that the "centre," or what we would call the self, does not lie in the ego but is outside it, "in us" yet "not in our hands," being [illegible] than that which we unconsciously are, and which we still have to recognize. Today we would call it the unconscious, and we distinguish between a personal unconscious which enables us to recognize the shadow and an impersonal unconscious which enables us to recognize the archetypal symbol of the self. Such a point of view was inaccessible to the alchemist, and, having no notion of the theory of knowledge, he had to exteriorize his archetype in the traditional way and lodge it in matter, even though he felt, as Dorn and others unmistakably did, that the centre was paradoxically in man and yet at the same time outside him.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[87] "Nemo in se ipso, sed in sui simili, quod etiam ex ipso sit, generare potest" ("Speculativae philosophiae," p. 276)

[88] ". . . ex aliis numquam unum facies quod quaeris, nisi prius ex te ipso fiat unum . . . [illegible]

living philosophical stones."[59] But he lacked the concept of an unconscious existence which would have enabled him to express the identity of the subjective psychic centre and the objective alchemical centre in a satisfactory formula. Nevertheless, he succeeded in explaining the magnetic attraction between the magical symbol, the "theoria," and the "centre" hidden in matter, or in the interior of the earth, or in the North Pole, as the identity of two extremes. That is why the theoria and the arcanum in matter are both called veritas. "This truth shines in us, but it is not of us; it is to be sought not in us, but in the image of God which is in us."[60]

267 Dorn thus equates the transcendent centre in man with the God-image. This identification makes it clear why the alchemical symbols for wholeness were applied as much to the arcanum in man as to the Deity, and why substances like mercury and sulphur, or the elements fire and water, could refer to God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost. Indeed, Dorn goes even further and allows the predicate of being to this truth, and to this truth alone: "Further, that we may give a satisfactory definition of the truth, we say that it is that to which nothing can be added, for what, pray, can be added to the One, what is lacking to it, or on what can it be supported? For in truth nothing exists beside that One."[61] The only thing that truly exists for him is the transcendental self which is identical with God.

268 Dorn was probably the first alchemist to sum up the results of all the symbolical terms and to state clearly what had been the motive of alchemy from the very beginning. It is remarkable that this thinker, who is far more lucid in his formulations than his successor Jakob Böhme, has remained completely unknown to historians of philosophy until today. He thus shares the fate of Hermetic philosophy in general, which, for those unacquainted with modern psychology, remains a

[59] "Transmutemini de lapidibus mortuis in vivos lapides philosophicos" (p. 267). This is an allusion to I Peter 2:4f.: "Come to him, to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones be yourselves built [up] . . ." (RSV)

[60] "Non in nobis quaerenda veritas, sed in imagine Dei quae in nobis est" (p. 268).

[61] "Ulterius ut veritati satisfaciamus, dicimus eam esse cui nihil adesse nam adesse quaeso quid etiam deest aut quid contra niti potest? cum nihil vere praeter illud unum existit" (p. 268).

closed book, sealed with seven seals. But this book has to be opened sometime if we wish to understand the mentality of the present day, for alchemy is the mother of the essential substance as well as of the consciousness of modern scientific thinking, and not scholasticism, which was responsible in the main only for the discipline and training of the intellect.

XII

BACKGROUND TO THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN ALCHEMICAL SYMBOLISM

Mercurius [illegible] could serve as the [illegible] of a whole epoch, beginning [illegible] with Christianity [illegible] and ending in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] marked [illegible] was once a [illegible] which was [illegible] [illegible] beginnings to the Christian era [illegible] [illegible] regarded as [illegible] which [illegible] Greek philosophy and the [illegible] of the Near and Middle East, together with Christian [illegible] and Jewish [illegible] extremely [illegible], attempts from the [illegible] point of view to synthesize a unitary [illegible] world in which the physical and the mystical aspects [illegible] parts. Had this attempt succeeded, we would not be witnessing today the curious spectacle of two parallel worldviews, neither of which knows or wishes to know anything about the other. [illegible] was in the enviable position of being able to see [illegible] side by side [illegible] and [illegible] has also been attempted by Jacob Mattev(?). In the [illegible] of Christian thinking it must be said that until the time of Kepler there was no lack of praiseworthy attempts to interpret and understand Nature in the broadest sense on the basis of Christian dogma.

These attempts, however, inevitably came to grief for lack of any adequate knowledge of material processes. Thus in the course of the eighteenth century there arose that notorious rift between faith and knowledge. Faith lacked experience and science missed out the soul. Instead, science believed fervently in absolute objectivity and assiduously overlooked the fundamental difficulty that the real vehicle and begetter of all knowledge is the *psyche*, the very thing that scientists knew the least about

[illegible]

Christians can with one another

[illegible]

1 Cf. "On the Nature of the Psyche," pars. 417ff., 438ff.

[illegible] which was likewise [illegible] In Ireland [illegible] and passed a less disturbed [illegible] Reformation [illegible] Ireland at least [illegible] Visvakarma [illegible] Vamana (the dwarf), and a host of others.

[illegible] from Western [illegible] cannot [illegible] the Indian [illegible] believes [illegible] over Eastern forms [illegible] our Western [illegible] Christian [illegible] it has [illegible] possession [illegible] common property of slavery.

[illegible] Christianity [illegible] the message [illegible] Western [illegible] the gospel to the [illegible] greater [illegible]

this in theological circles?

personality of Jesus is, for the biographer, the obscurest item of all in the reports of the New Testament, and that from a human and psychological point of view his personality must remain an unfathomable enigma. As a Catholic writer pithily remarks: "He proves himself the enigma of a man and a god at the same time." Christ as God and as human being: what about the Incarnation, the most vital part of the whole scheme? In my view one would be well advised to accept the original dogma. "Let it be as it is or not be at all"[4] to the Creed and leave it at that, because nobody really understands what it is all about. How else can one explain the persistent drift away from dogma?

278 It may strike my reader as strange that a physician and psychologist should be so insistent about dogma. But I must emphasize it, and for the same reasons that once moved the alchemist to attach special importance to his theoria. His doctrine was the quintessence of the symbolism of unconscious processes, just as the dogmas are a condensation or distillation of sacred history, of the myth of the divine being and his deeds. If we wish to understand what a chemical doctrine means we must go back to the historical as well as the individual phenomenology of the symbols, and if we wish to gain a closer understanding of dogma we must perforce consider first the myths of the Near and Middle East that underlie Christianity, and then the whole of mythology as the expression of a universal disposition in man. This disposition I have called the collective unconscious, the existence of which can be inferred only from individual phenomenology. In both cases the investigator comes back to the individual, for what he is at the time concerned with are certain complex thought-forms, the archetypes, which must be conjectured as the unconscious organizers of our ideas. The motive force that produces these configurations cannot be distinguished from the transconscious factor known as instinct. There is, therefore, no justification for viewing the archetype as anything other than the image of instinct in man.[5]

279 From this one should not jump to the conclusion that the world of religious ideas can be reduced to "nothing but" a biological basis, and it would be equally erroneous to suppose that when approached in this way the religious phenomenon

4 "Sit, ut est, aut non sit."
5 "On the Nature of the Psyche," par. 415

origins is a matter of life and death

presses both sides. This was the "veritas" (Dorn) or "the na[illegible]" (Paracelsus) for which the old physicians and alchemists strove, and they could do so only by incorporating the Christian revelation into their world of ideas. They continued the work of the Gnostics, who were, most of them, not so much heretics as theologians, and the Church Fathers of a new era, instinctively recognizing that new wine should not be put into old bottles, and that, like a snake changing its skin, the old myth needs to be clothed anew in every renewed age if it is not to lose its therapeutic effect.

282 The problems which the integration of the unconscious sets modern doctors and psychologists can only be solved along the lines traced out by history, and the upshot will be a new assimilation of the traditional myth. This, however, presupposes the continuity of historical development. Naturally the present tendency to destroy all tradition or render it unconscious could interrupt the normal process of development for several hundred years and substitute an interlude of barbarism. Wherever the Marxist utopia prevails, this has already happened. But a predominantly scientific and technological education, such as is the usual thing nowadays, can also bring about a spiritual regression and a considerable increase of psychic dissociation. With hygiene and prosperity alone a man is still far from health, otherwise the most enlightened and most comfortably off among us would be the healthiest. But in regard to neuroses that is not the case at all, quite the contrary. Loss of roots and lack of tradition neuroticize the masses and prepare them for collective hysteria. Collective hysteria calls for collective therapy, which consists in abolition of liberty and terrorization. Where rationalistic materialism holds sway, states tend to develop less into prisons than into lunatic asylums.

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283 I have tried in the foregoing to indicate the kind of psychic matrix into which the Christ-figure was assimilated in the course of the centuries. Had there not been an affinity—magnet!—between the figure of the Redeemer and certain contents of the unconscious, the human mind would never have been able to perceive the light shining in Christ and seize upon it so passionately. The connecting link here is the archetype of the God-

[illegible]

[a] Like the Old Testament "Yahweh Zebaoth," Lord of Hosts. Cf. Maag, "Jahwäs Heerscharen."

[illegible]

depths of the unconscious as an equivalent of the historical Christ figure, and if Christ was invoked as "Ichthys," this name referred to what had come up out of the depths. The fish symbol is thus the bridge between the historical Christ and the psychic nature of man, where the archetype of the Redeemer dwells. In this way Christ became an inner experience, the "Christ within."

286 As I have shown, the alchemical fish symbolism leads direct to the *lapis*, the *salvator*, *servator*, and *deus terrenus*, that is, psychologically, to the self. We now have a new symbol in place of the fish: a psychological concept of human wholeness. In as much or in as little as the fish is Christ does the self mean God. It is something that corresponds to an inner experience, an assimilation of Christ into the psychic matrix, a new realization of the divine Son, no longer in theriomorphic form, but expressed in a conceptual or "philosophical" symbol. This, compared with the mute and unconscious fish, marks a distinct increase in conscious development.[16]

[16] For the significance of conscious development in relation to mythological symbolism, see Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*.

XIII

GNOSTIC SYMBOLS OF THE SELF

I

synchronicity of the archetype [1]

[2] Genesis 1:17. [3] Non verbatim quotation from John 4 …

substances; and from this water goes forth to every nature that which is proper to it, more greedily than iron to the Heracleian stone,"[4] etc.

289 As the reference to John 4 : 10 shows, the wonderful water of the Euphrates has the property of the *aqua doctrinae*, which perfects every nature in its individuality and thus makes man whole too. It does this by giving him a kind of magnetic power by which he can attract and integrate that which belongs to him. The Naassene doctrine is, plainly, a perfect parallel to the alchemical view already discussed: the doctrine is the magnet that makes possible the integration of man as well as the *lapis*.

290 In the Peratic doctrine so many ideas of this kind reappear that Hippolytus even uses the same metaphors, though the meaning is more subtle. No one, he says, can be saved without the Son.

But this is the serpent. For it is he who brought the signs of the Father down from above, and it is he who carries them back again after they have been awakened from sleep, transferring them thither from hence as substances proceeding from the Substanceless. This, they say, is what is meant by the saying: I am the Door.[5] But they say he transfers them to those whose eyelids are closed,[6] as naphtha draws the fire to itself,[7] more than the Heracleian stone draws iron . . .[8] Thus, they say, the perfect race of men, made in the image of the Father and of the same substance [illegible], is drawn from the world by the Serpent, even as it was sent down by him; but naught else is so drawn.[9]

291 Here the magnetic attraction does not come from the doctrine or the water but from the "Son," who is symbolized by the serpent, as in John 3 : 14.[10] Christ is the magnet that draws to

[4] *Elenchos*, V, 9, 19f. (Cf. Legge trans., I, pp. 145f.) Heracleian stone = magnet.
[5] John 10 : 9: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved."
[6] I use the reading [illegible]. Does this mean those who close their eyes to the world?
[7] [illegible] the teachings of the Basilidians. [illegible] Hippolytus' exposition seems to be a trifle confused at this point.
[8] [illegible] and it should be noted that they are the same as in the passage previously quoted (V, 9, 19).
[9] *Elenchos*, V, 17, 8ff. (Cf. Legge trans., I, pp. 158f.)
[10] "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up."

and those parts or substances in man that are [illegible] on the [illegible] of the Father [illegible] attracts [illegible] to their heavenly birthplace. The serpent is an equivalent of the fish. The [illegible] of a person [illegible] as a fish and a serpent: he is a fish because he [illegible] from the unknown depths and a serpent because he came mysteriously out of the darkness. Fishes and snakes are favourite symbols for psychic happenings or experiences that suddenly dart out of the unconscious and have a frightening or redeeming effect. That is why they are so often expressed by the motif of helpful animals. The comparison of Christ with the serpent is more authentic than with the fish but, like the latter, it was not so popular in primitive Christianity. The Gnostics favoured it because it was an old-established symbol for the [illegible] the Agathodaimon, and also for their beloved Nous. Both symbols are [illegible] representatives of the unconscious [illegible] Theriomorphic symbols are very common in dreams and other manifestations of the unconscious. They express the psychic level of the content in question; that is to say, such contents are at a level of unconsciousness that is as far from human consciousness as the psyche of an animal. Warm-blooded or cold-blooded vertebrates [illegible] [illegible] the degree of unconsciousness. It is important for psychotherapy [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] are located anatomically [illegible] as may be [illegible] lated with the cerebrospinal [illegible] nervous system. The Naassenes may have [illegible] Hippolytus mentions in connection with the serpent that they compared the "Hebrew" [illegible] spinal cord [illegible] The snake does in fact symbolize "cold-blooded," inhuman contents and tendencies of an abstractly intellectual as well as a concretely animal nature: in a word, the extra-human quality in man.

291 The third reference to the magnet is to be found in Hippolytus' account of the Sethians. This has remarkable analogies with the alchemical doctrines of the Middle Ages.

though no direct transmission can be proved. It expounds, in Hippolytus' words, a theory of "composition and mixture": the ray of light from above mingles with the dark waters below in the form of a minute spark. At the death of the individual, and also at his figurative death as a mystical experience, the two substances unmix themselves. This mystical experience is the *divisio* and *separatio* of the composite (τὸ διῃρῆσθαι καὶ χωρίσαι τὰ συγκεκραμένα). I purposely give the Latin terms used in medieval alchemy, because they denote essentially the same thing as do the Gnostic concepts. The separation or unmixing enables the alchemist to extract the *anima* or *spiritus* from the *prima materia*. During this operation the helpful Mercurius appears with the dividing sword (used also by the adept), which the Sethians refer to Matthew 10 : 34: "I came not to send peace, but a sword." The result of the unmixing is that what was previously mixed up with the other is now drawn to its own place and to that which is proper or akin to it, "like iron to the magnet" ([illegible]). In the same way the spark or ray of light, "having received from the teaching and learning its proper place, hastens to the Logos, which comes from above in the form of a slave . . . more quickly than iron [flies] to the magnet."[18]

293 Here the magnetic attraction comes from the Logos. This denotes a thought or idea that has been formulated and articulated, hence a content and a product of consciousness. Consequently the Logos is very like the *aqua doctrinae*, but whereas the Logos has the advantage of being an autonomous person, the latter is merely a passive object of human action. The Logos is nearer to the historical Christ-figure, just as the "water" is nearer to the magical water used in ritual (ablution, aspersion,

18 Here, as in the previous passages about the magnet, mention is made of [illegible] the [illegible] emphasis being laid on the heart's centre. *Elenchos*, V, 21, 8 (Legge trans., I, p. [illegible]). The ray of light [illegible] finds an analogue in [illegible] Dorn (*Theatr. chem.*, I, p. [illegible]) speaks of the "invisible rays of heaven meeting together at the centre of the earth," and there, as Michael Maier says, shining with a "heavenly light like a carbuncle" (*Symbola aureae mensae*, p. [illegible]). The arcane substance is extracted from the rays and contains its shadow (*umbra*), as the "Tractatus aureus" says (*Ars chemica*, p. [illegible]). The *aqua permanens* is extracted from the rays of the sun and moon by the magnet. Mylius (*Philosophia reformata*, p. [illegible]) [illegible] the rays of the sun are united in the silver water (Beatus, "Aurelia occulta," *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. [illegible]).

[illegible] different forms of magnetic agent

[illegible]

[illegible] snake does not signify the "Son.

[illegible]

295 All these symbols are phenomena of assimilation that are in themselves of a numinous nature and therefore have a certain degree of autonomy. Indeed, had they never made their appearance it would have meant that the annunciation of the Christ figure was ineffective. These phenomena not only prove the effectiveness of the annunciation but provide the necessary conditions in which the annunciation can take effect. In other words, the symbols represent the prototypes of the Christ figure that were slumbering in man's unconscious and were then called awake by his actual appearance in history and, so to speak, magnetically attracted. That is why Meister Eckhart uses the same symbolism to describe Adam's relation to the Creator on the one hand and to the lower creatures on the other.[2]

296 This magnetic process revolutionizes the ego-oriented psyche by setting up, in contradistinction to the ego, another goal or centre which is characterized by all manner of names and symbols: fish, serpent, centre of the sea-hawk,[3] point, monad, cross, paradise, and so on. The myth of the ignorant demiurge who imagined he was the highest divinity illustrates the perplexity of the ego when it can no longer hide from itself the knowledge that it has been dethroned by a supraordinate authority. The "thousand names" of the *lapis philosophorum* correspond to the innumerable Gnostic designations for the Anthropos, which make it quite obvious what is meant: the greater, more comprehensive Man, that indescribable whole consisting of the sum of conscious and unconscious processes. This objective whole, the antithesis of the subjective ego-psyche, is what I have called the self, and this corresponds exactly to the idea of the Anthropos.

2

297 When, in treating a case of neurosis, we try to supplement the inadequate attitude (or adaptedness) of the conscious mind

[3] [illegible]

[illegible]

snake that bites its own tail

[illegible]

Individuation, in Part I of vol. 9 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

18 Acts 17 : 30.

[illegible] consciousness [illegible] can "baptize" themselves in the krater and thereby obtain Nous. God says that the man filled with Nous should know himself" (pp. 186f.).

20 [illegible] (Acts 17 : 29).

[illegible] that earlier condition seemed to be altogether [illegible] the [illegible] transformation of [illegible] character of repentance of sins, with the result that the Vulgate could translate it as "poenitentiam agere." [illegible] As we have seen, [illegible] not only [illegible] but also, according to the [illegible] from unconsciousness. This idea is more or less in line with the traditional Christian view that God was transformed during the passage from the Old Testament to the New and from being the God of wrath changed into the God of Love—a thought that is expressed very clearly by Nicolaus Caussin in the seventeenth century.[23]

400 In this connection I must mention the results of Rivkah Schärf's examination of the figure of Satan in the Old Testament.[24] With the historical transformation of the concept of Satan the image of Yahweh changes too, so that one can well say that there was a differentiation of the God-image even in the Old Testament, not to speak of the New. The idea that the world-creating Deity is not conscious but may be dreaming is found also in Hindu literature:

> Who knows how it was, and who shall declare
> Whence it was born and whence it came?
> The gods are later than this creation.
> Who knows, then, whence it has sprung?
>
> Whence this created world came,
> And whether he made it or not,
> He [illegible] highest heaven
> Knows—or does not know.[25]

[22] Likewise the *metanoia* of the Baptist (Matt. 3 : 2).

[23] Cf. the [illegible] of "unconsciousness" in pseudo-Clement [illegible] of a Virgin, nay, in her womb, and was made captive by love."

[24] Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament.

[25] [illegible]

Meister Eckhart's theology knows a "Godhead" of which no qualities, except unity and being,[28] can be predicated; it is becoming, it is not yet Lord of itself, and it represents an absolute coincidence of opposites: "But its simple nature is of forms formless; of becoming, becomingless; of beings, beingless; of things, thingless," etc.[29] Union of opposites is equivalent to unconsciousness, so far as human logic goes, for consciousness presupposes a differentiation into subject and object and a relation between them. Where there is no "other," or it does not yet exist, all possibility of consciousness ceases. Only the Father, the God "welling" out of the Godhead, "notices himself," becomes "beknown to himself," and "confronts himself as a Person." So from the Father comes the Son, as the Father's thought of his own being. In his original unity he knows no things, "except the separate One which he is." While Godhead is essentially unconscious, so too is the man who lives in God. In his sermon on "The Poor in Spirit" (Matt. 5:3), the Master says: "The man who has this poverty has everything he was when he lived not in any wise, neither in himself, nor in truth, nor in God. He is so quit and empty of all knowing that no knowledge of God is alive in him; for while he stood in the eternal nature of God, there lived in him not another: what lived there was himself. And so we say this man is as empty of his own knowledge as he was when he was not anything; he lets God work what he will, and he stands empty as when he came from God."[30] Therefore he should love God in the following way: "Love him as he is: a not-God, a not-spirit, a not-person, a not-image; as a sheer, pure, clear One, which he is, sundered from all secondness. And in this One let us sink eternally, from nothing to nothing. So help us God. Amen."[31]

28 [illegible] The Master says: "Even in the Godhead [illegible] [illegible] Evans trans., I, p. 351.)

29 [illegible] is no way, it is beyond all ways [illegible] ist von sachen nichtes." (Cf. ibid., p. 55.)

[illegible] which is God. Cf. ibid., p. 351. Cf. also n. 16, supra: *dynamis*.

30 Evans, I, p. 219.

31 From the sermon "Renovamini spiritu" (Eph. 4:23). Ibid., pp. 247f.

both bear witness to this.

[illegible]

here used

[illegible]

[illegible] is a prerogative exclusive to God

[illegible] second Person of the Godhead in its universal form [illegible] the existence [illegible] person that essentially the same [illegible] the psychic [illegible] of the [illegible] the presence of an archetype [illegible] consciousness. But since this [illegible] an [illegible] and [illegible] archetypes [illegible] archetypes [illegible] counterparts of the "outside world," [illegible] character [illegible] 'godlikeness."

3

306 To make my exposition more complete I would like to mention some of the Gnostic symbols for the universal [illegible] or [illegible] especially those [illegible] the [illegible] as an image of [illegible] of consciousness. The most important of these images is the [illegible] The Gnostics have a vast number of symbols for [illegible] the centre of being, the Creator and the divine [illegible] [illegible] reader [illegible] confused [illegible] [illegible] mystery [illegible] My list of Gnostic symbols is [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] many different expressions are required [illegible] its various aspects.

307 According to Irenaeus, the Gnostics held that Sophia [illegible] [illegible] the Ogdoad [illegible]

[illegible]

In the form of a dove she descended into the water and begot Saturn, who is identical with Yahweh. Saturn, as we have already mentioned, is the "highest" sun, the [illegible] of [illegible]. Here he is the [illegible] Anthropos. He created the first man, who could only crawl like a worm.[14] Among the Naassenes, the demiurge Esaldaeus, a fiery god, the fourth by number, is set up against the Trinity of Father, Mother, and Son. The highest is the Father, the Archanthropos, who is without qualities and is called the great Adam. In Justin's system Baruch takes the place of the Protanthropos. Epiphanius mentions the Ebionite teaching that Adam, the original man, is identical with Christ.[16] In Theodore Bar Konai the original man is the five elements, [illegible] [illegible].[17] In the Acts of Thomas the dragon says of itself: "I am the son [illegible] that hurt and smote the four brethren which stood upright."[18]

The [illegible] [illegible] of the quaternity coincides for the Gnostics with the figure of the demiurge or Anthropos. He is, as it were, the victim of his own creative act, for when he

[illegible]

Gnosis (I, 29, 2). [14] *Adv. haer.*, I, 24, 1.

[illegible] [16] *Panar.*, XXX, [illegible].

[illegible] p. 185.

[illegible] James, p. [illegible].

[illegible] God.

[illegible] climax of the deification of the king."[40]

[illegible]

39 Bousset, pp. 14ff.

40 *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-hotep III*, p. 81.

41 *Elenchos*, V, 9, 5f. (Legge trans., I, p. 140f.).

in the literature of [illegible] and the mysteries of the [illegible] Phrygians [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the Naassenes [illegible] [illegible] This [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Naassenes [illegible] [illegible] the synonyms Adonis, Osiris, Adam, Korybas, Pan, Bacchus, and [illegible] shepherd of white stars.

311 The Naassenes themselves considered Naas, the serpent, to be their central deity, and they explained it as the "moist substance," in agreement with Thales of Miletus, who said water was the prime substance on which all life depended. Similarly, all living things depend on the Naas; "it contains within itself like the horn of the one-horned bull the beauty of all things." It "pervades everything like the water that flows out of Eden and divides into four sources." "This Eden, they say, is the brain." Three of the rivers of Paradise are sensory functions (Pison = sight, Gihon = hearing, Tigris = smell), but the fourth, the Euphrates, is the mouth, "the seat of prayer and the entrance of food." As the fourth function it has a double significance, denoting on the one hand the purely material activity of bodily nourishment, while on the other hand it "gladdens, nourishes, and forms the spiritual, perfect man." The "fourth" is something special, ambivalent—a daemonium. A good example of this is in Daniel 3 : 24f., where the three men in the burning fiery furnace are joined by a fourth, whose form was "like a son of God."

312 The water of [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
62 Elenchos, V, 9, 15ff. (Cf. Legge, I, p. 143.)
63 An allusion to John 4 : 10.

possessing, as we have seen, miraculous properties. It is that [illegible] water from which the [illegible] is born and the [illegible] water. That man "continues [illegible] and is drinking of the water of the Euphrates [illegible] water [illegible]."[46] This is an allusion to the [illegible]. Indeed this water is the "perfect man," the [illegible] the Word sent by God. "From the living water we spiritual men choose that which is ours,"[47] for every nature, when dipped in this water, "chooses its own substances," and from this water "goes forth to every nature that which is proper to it."[48] The water, or, as we could say, this Christ is a sort of panspermia, a matrix of all possibilities, from which the [illegible] chooses his Ousia, his homoousia,[49] that flies to him more [illegible] than iron to the magnet. But the spiritual men attain their proper nature by entering in through the "true door," Jesus Makarios (the blessed), and thus obtaining knowledge of their own wholeness, i.e., of the complete man. This man, [illegible] in the world, is obviously the inner, spiritual man, who becomes conscious for those who enter in through Christ, the door of life, and are illuminated by him. Two images are blended here: the image of the "strait gate"[50] and that of John 14 : 6: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father but through me."[51] This represents an [illegible] process that is characteristic of [illegible] individuation. As formulated, the water symbol [illegible] Jesus with Christ and Christ with the inner man. This seems to me is not a confusion of thought but a psychologically correct formulation of the facts, since Christ as the Word is indeed the "living water" and at the same time the symbol of the inner "complete" man, the self.

335 For the Naassenes the universal "Ground" is the Original Man, Adam, and knowledge of him is regarded as the beginning

[46] Legge, I, p. 144. [47] *Elenchos*, V, 9, 21.

[48] V, 9, 19 (Legge trans., p. 144).

[49] [illegible] devil as world creator. He too finds what is proper [illegible].

[50] Matt. 7 : 14: "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life."

[51] The passage discussed here is in *Elenchos*, V, 9, 4ff. (Legge trans., I, p. 140).

ning of perfection and the [illegible] knowledge of God.[51] He is male-female. From him come "father and mother."[52] He consists of three parts: the rational (noeron), the psychic, and the earthly (choikon). These three came down together into one man, Jesus, and these three men spoke together, each of them from his own substance to his own, i.e., from the rational to the rational, etc. Through this doctrine Jesus is related to the Original Man, Christ as second Adam. He was one of three [illegible] [illegible].[53] As exemplars of the Original Man the text mentions the Cabiri[54] and Oannes. The latter had a son [illegible], so that the figure [illegible] of the great and beautiful and perfect man [illegible] [illegible]. He is the blessed nature at once hidden and revealed of everything that was, is, and will be, the kingdom of heaven which is to be sought within man [illegible] a child of seven years.[56] For the Naassenes, says Hippolytus, place the procreative nature of the Whole in the procreative seed.[57] On the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] substance [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the procreative power [illegible] mystery of the procreative nature of the Whole. This for them is the [illegible] [illegible] which in the text that follows is [illegible] the [illegible] of Osiris, and they say Osiris is water. Although the substance of this seed is the cause of all [illegible] it does not partake of their nature. Thus say therefore: "I become what I will, and I am what I am." For he who moves everything is himself unmoved. He, they say, is alone good.[58] A further [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Hermes Kyllenios. For they say Hermes is the Logos, the interpreter and fashioner of what has

[51] *Elenchos*, V, 6, 6: [illegible] ("Knowledge [illegible] is perfect wholeness").

[52] V, 6, 5 (Legge trans., I, p. 120). [53] V, 6, 6f. (p. 121).

[54] Nicknamed καλλίπαις 'with beautiful children' or 'the beautiful child.' (*Elenchos*, V, 7, 4.)

[55] [illegible] (*Elenchos*, V, 7, 21.)

[56] [illegible] the total father.

[57] With express reference to Matt. 19 : 17: "One is good, God."

[illegible] from below upwards."[58]

4

[illegible]

[illegible]

[58] Cf. Legge trans., p. 118. [59] *Pausanium*, XXVI, cap. VIII

[illegible] we might have life."

in dreams, should always be taken "as if," even though they clothe themselves in sensual imagery that stops at no scurrility and no obscenity. They are unconcerned with offensiveness, because they do not really mean it. It is as if they were stammering in their efforts to express the elusive meaning that grazes the dreamer's attention.[62]

316 The context of the vision (John 3 : 12) makes it clear that the image should be taken not concretistically but symbolically, for Christ speaks not of earthly things but of a heavenly or spiritual mystery—a "mystery" not because he is hiding something or making a secret of it (indeed, nothing could be more blatant than the naked obscenity of the vision!) but because its meaning is still hidden from consciousness. The modern method of dream analysis and interpretation follows this heuristic rule.[63] If we apply it to the vision, we arrive at the following result:

317 1. The MOUNTAIN means ascent, particularly the mystical, spiritual ascent to the heights, to the place of revelation where the spirit is present. This motif is so well known that there is no need to document it.[64]

318 2. The central significance of the Christ-figure for that community has been abundantly proved. In Christian Gnosticism it was a visualization of God as the Anthropos (Primordial Man, Adam), and therefore the epitome of man as such: he is Man and the Son of Man. Christ is the inner man who is reached by the path of self-knowledge, "the kingdom of heaven within

[illegible] chology of the "Trickster Figure."—EDITORS.]

63 [illegible] ans, but that it is—the Parthenon.

64 Cf. "Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," par. 403.

vous. As the Anthropos he corresponds to what is empirically the most important archetype and, as judge of the living and the dead and king of glory, to the real ordering principle of the unconscious, the quaternity, or squared circle of the self.[67] In saying this I have not done violence to anything; my views are based on the experience that mandala structures have the meaning and function of a centre of the unconscious personality.[68] The quaternity of Christ, which must be borne in mind in this vision, is exemplified by the cross symbol, the *rex gloriae*, and Christ as the year.

319 The production of the woman from his side suggests that he is interpreted as the second Adam. Bringing forth a woman means that he is playing the role of the Creator-god in Genesis.[69] Just as Adam, before the creation of Eve, was supposed by various traditions to be male/female,[70] so Christ here demonstrates his androgyny in a gnostic way.[71] The Original Man is usually hermaphroditic; in Vedic tradition too he produces his own feminine half and unites with her. In Christian allegory the woman sprung from Christ's side signifies the Church as the Bride of the Lamb.

320 The splitting of the Original Man into husband and wife expresses an act of nascent consciousness; it gives birth to a pair of opposites, thereby making consciousness possible. For the beholder of the miracle, Mary, the vision was the spontaneous visualization or projection of an unconscious process in herself. Experience shows that unconscious processes are compensatory to a definite conscious situation. The splitting in the vision would therefore suggest that it was compensating a conscious sense of unity. This unity probably referred in the last resort to the figure of the Anthropos, the incarnate God, who was then in the forefront of religious interest. He was, in Origen's words,

67 Cf. "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation," pars. 942f.

68 Cf. "A Study in the Process of Individuation."

69 This is consistent with his nature as the Logos and second Person of the Trinity.

70 Naturally this view is rejected by the Church.

71 Three different interpretations of Christ are contaminated here. Such contaminations are characteristic not only of Gnostic thinking but of all unconscious image-formation.

the "Vir Unus,"[70] the One Man. It was with this figure that Mary was confronted in her vision. If we assume that the recipient of the vision was in reality a woman—an assumption that is not altogether without grounds—then what she had been missing in the patriarchal masculinity of Christ was the counterbalancing feminine. Therefore it was revealed to her: "I am both man and woman." This psychologem is still incorporated today in the Catholic conception of Christ's androgyny as the "Virgo de Virgine," though this is more a *sententia communis* than a conclusion. Medieval iconography sometimes shows Christ with breasts, in accordance with Song of Solomon 1:1: "For thy breasts are better than wine." (DV) In Mechthild of Magdeburg the soul remarks that when the Lord kissed her, he had, contrary to expectation, no beard.[71] The sources of inspiration were lacking. Mechthild had a vision similar to Mary's, dealing with the same problem from a different angle: she saw herself transported to a rocky mountain, where the Blessed Virgin sat with the Child of the eternal Godhead. When it was born, she embraced it and kissed it three times. As the text points out, the mountain is an allegory of the "spiritual kingdom" of spiritual attitude. Through divine inspiration she knows how the Son is the innermost core [illegible] the Father's heart. This innermost is strengthening, healing, and most sweet. God's "strength and greatest sweetness" are given to us through the Son, the Saviour and strongest, sweetest Comforter. But the innermost core of the soul is the sweetest thing.[72] From this it is clear that Mechthild equates the innermost with the Father's heart, the Son, and the inner man. Psychologically speaking, that sweetest thing corresponds to the self, which is indistinguishable from the God-image.

321 There is a significant difference between the two visions. The antique revelation depicts the birth of Eve from Adam on

[70] Gregory the Great, *Expositiones in librum I Regum*, I, [illegible] (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. [illegible]): [illegible] Christ [illegible] he is called one [illegible] age [illegible] virtue." It is, however, significant in itself.

[71] "He offered her his rosy [sic!] mouth to kiss" (*Liber gratiae spiritualis*, fol. J iv[v]).

[72] Medulla vero animae [illegible]

[illegible]

realization.

[illegible]

[illegible] shall compass a man" (AV).

[76] *Liber gratiae spiritualis*, fol. A v[illegible]. The quaternity refers to the four gospels.

[illegible]

[78] Ibid., fol. B viii[v].

[79] Cf. Fulch, *Angelus Silesius*, pp. 128ff.

[illegible] (Cf. Rieu trans., p. 266.

[illegible] forth moisture in the form of Tefnut." [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] his own split-off feminine half.

[illegible] Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, pp. 308f.

[illegible] al Ideas" etc.

[illegible] for the Ures [illegible] about Hermes

[illegible] Hermes [illegible] Mercurius [illegible] chaos," the name is a very apt one

Hermes is [illegible] With [illegible] Christ [illegible] Christ [illegible]

[83] *Elenchos*, V, 7, 30f. (Cf. Legge trans., I, p. 128.)
[84] Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 352f.
[85] Here Hippolytus cites the text of *Odyssey*, XXIV, 2
[86] *Elenchos*, V, 7, 36 (Legge trans., I, pp. 129f.)
[illegible] of the statue.
[illegible] He is the "soul in fetters" or "in the prison of the body" as the alchemists say. [illegible]

mountain is the Archanthropos Christ, from whom the stone or inner man was cut. As Epiphanius interprets it, this means that the inner man is begotten "without human seed," "a small stone that becomes a great mountain." [89]

307 The Archanthropos is the Logos, whom the souls follow "twittering," as the bats follow Hermes in the *nekyia*. He leads them to Oceanus and—in the immortal words of Homer—to "the doors of Helios and the land of dreams." "He [Hermes] is Oceanus, the begetter of gods and men, ever ebbing and flowing, now forth, now back." Men are born from the ebb, and gods from the flow. "It is this, they say, that stands written: 'I have said, you are gods, and all of you the sons of the most High.'" [90] Here the affinity or identity of God and man is explicit, in the Holy Scriptures no less than in the Naassene teachings.

6

308 The Naassenes, as Hippolytus says,[91] derived all things from a triad, which consists firstly of the "blessed nature of the blessed Man on high, Adamas," secondly of the mortal nature of the lower man, and thirdly of the "kingless race begotten from above," to which belong "Mariam the sought-for one, and Jothor[92] the great wise one, and Sephora[93] the seer, and Moses whose generation was not in Egypt." [94] Together these four form a marriage *quaternio*[95] of the classic type:

HUSBAND — WIFE
|
SISTER — BROTHER

[89] *Ancoratus*, 40. Cf. Daniel 2 : 35: "But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth" (DV).

[90] *Elenchos*, V, 7, 37 (Legge trans., I, p. 130). Cf. Psalm 82 (Vulg. 81) : 6, to which reference is made in Luke 6 : 35 and John 10 : 34.

[91] V, 8, 2 (ibid., p. 131).

[92] Ἰοθώρ = Jethro, the priest-king of Midian and the father-in-law of Moses.

[93] Zipporah, the wife of Moses.

[94] This is probably an allusion to the pneumatic nature of the "generation" produced by Moses, for according to *Elenchos*, V, 7, 41, "Egypt is the body" (Legge trans., I, p. 130).

[95] The marriage *quaternio* is the archetype to which the cross-cousin marriage corresponds on a primitive level. I have given a detailed account of it in "The Psychology of the Transference," pars. 425ff.

Their synonyms are:

MOTHER		FATHER
QUEEN		KING
THE UNKNOWN WOMAN	—	THE DISTANT LOVER
ANIMA	—	ANIMUS

[illegible] representatives of the sinful pagan world.

[illegible]

[86] Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 481.

[87] See the study by Marie-Louise von Franz [illegible]

[illegible] upon line, line upon line; here a little and there a [illegible]

by Jesus to flow upstream; it is the rising flood and thus, as already mentioned, is the begetter of gods. "This, they say, is the human hermaphrodite in all creatures, whom the ignorant call Geryon of the threefold body, that is, ὡς ἐκ γῆς ῥέοντα, flowing from the earth; but the Greeks name it the celestial horn of the moon." The text defines the above-mentioned *quaternio*, which is identical with Ocean, the upward-flowing Jordan, the hermaphrodite Geryon of the threefold body, and the horn of the moon, as the cosmogonic Logos (John 1 : 1ff.) and the "life that was in him" (John 1 : 4), as a "generation of perfect men" (τέλειοι ἄνθρωποι).[99]

331 This Logos or quaternity is "the cup from which the king, drinking, draws his omens,"[100] or the beaker of Anacreon. The cup leads Hippolytus on to the wine miracle at Cana, which, he says, "showed forth the kingdom of heaven," for the kingdom of heaven lies within us like the wine in the cup. Further parallels of the cup are the ithyphallic gods of Samothrace and the Kyllenic Hermes, who signify the Original Man as well as the spiritual man who is reborn. This last is "in every respect consubstantial" with the Original Man worshipped as Hermes. For this reason, says Hippolytus, Christ said that one must eat of his flesh and drink his blood, for he was conscious of the "*individual nature*" of each of his disciples and also of the need of each "to come to his own special nature."[101]

332 Another synonym is Korybas, who was descended from the crown of the head and from the unformed (ἀχαρακτήριστος) brain, like the Euphrates from Eden, and permeates all things. His image exists unrecognized in earthly form. He is the god who "*thundered on the flood*." I need not describe this symbol here, as I have already discussed it at some length in one of my Paracelsus studies.[102] So far as Korybas is concerned, the parallel between him and the Protanthropos is expressed by the ancient view that the Corybants were the first men.[103] The name "Korybas" does not denote a particular personality, but rather the anonymous member of a collectivity, such as the Curetes,

99 [illegible] (Legge trans., I, p. 131).
100 Cf. Genesis 44 : 5.
101 *Elenchos*, V, 8, 12 (Legge trans., I, p. 133).
102 "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," pars. 180ff.
103 Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, part 1, col. 1608, s.v. "Kureten."

[illegible] Dorsal [illegible] Etymologically it has been brought into connection with [illegible] crown of the head, though this is not certain. Korybas seems in our text to be the name of a single personality, the Korybant [illegible] who appears here as synonymous with the [illegible]. With reference to this Hermes the text says: "Him the Thracians [illegible] call Kory[bas] [illegible]." I have suggested in an earlier publication that this [illegible] single personality may perhaps be a [illegible] of [illegible] with Korybas known to us from the Dorsal [illegible] [illegible] being [illegible] [illegible] *[illegible]*

[illegible] perfect man [illegible] the [illegible] perfect [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Here the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] perfect [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] perfect man was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
Elenchos, V, 8, 13 (Legge trans., I, p. 133).
"The Spirit Mercurius," par. 278.
[illegible]
[illegible] is not perfected).
[illegible]
[illegible] the "spiritual" man.

[illegible] cannot ever be saved unless he passes through this door.[110]

[illegible] man of Pe[illegible] [illegible] without qualities [illegible]

[illegible]

111 First mentioned at V, 8. 19. [Cf. Legge, I, p. 154.]

[illegible]

[illegible]

together in the centre."[119]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[117] *De vita longa*, Lib. IV, cap. VII (ibid., p. 284).

[118] "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," par. 188.

[illegible]

[120] Gen. 28 : 17 (DV).

the waters springing up unto eternal life, says Origen.[52] This water is the "higher" water, the aqua superior, the rivers from the belly of Christ, and the cosmic life as contrasted with the "lower" water, the aqua inferior, where the darknesses are and where dwell the Prince of this world, the deceiving dragon and his angels.[53] The river of water is our Saviour himself.[54] Christ is the river that pours into the world through the four gospels[55] like the rivers of Paradise. I have purposely cited the ecclesiastical allegories in greater detail, so that the reader can see how saturated Gnostic symbolism is in the language of the Church, and how, on the other hand, particularly in Origen, the Gnostic ideas were [illegible] in common with Gnostic views. Thus he [illegible] of his contemporaries and successors, the idea of the cosmic [illegible] of the spiritual inner man [illegible]. In his First Homily on Genesis, he says that God first created heaven, the whole spiritual substance, and that the counterpart of this is our mind, which is itself a spirit, that is, our spiritual inner man which sees and knows God.[56]

337 These examples of Christian parallels to [illegible] views of the Gnostics may suffice to give the reader a picture of the mentality of the first two centuries of our era and to show how closely the religious teachings of that age were connected with psychic facts.

52 In Genesim hom. XI, 3 (Migne, P.G., vol. 12, col. 224): "And thus we may see [illegible] fountain of water springing up unto eternal life."

53 Ibid., I, 2 (col. 148).

54 In Numeros hom. XVII, 4 (Migne, P.G., vol. 12, col. [illegible]). [illegible]

55 [illegible]

56 In Genesim hom. I, 2 (Migne, P.G., vol. 12, col. 147).

7

[illegible] Now let us come back to the symbols listed by Hippolytus. The Original Man [illegible] is named [illegible] not because he turns [illegible] but because he is always the Pole [illegible] the cosmos round.[illegible] This recalls the parallel [illegible] previously mentioned about Mercurius [illegible] at the North Pole. [illegible] the Naassenes [illegible] the [illegible] of the Odyssey: "Proteus [illegible]." Hippolytus quotes Homer as follows: "This place is frequented by the Old Man of the Sea, immortal Proteus the Egyptian [illegible]."[illegible] Homer then [illegible] Poseidon and knows the sea in all its depths [illegible] a personification of the unconscious [illegible] and [illegible] fast or know him there and keep away. One must [illegible] him quickly and hold him fast in order to force him to speak [illegible] in the sea [illegible] comes to the lonely shore [illegible] like an [illegible] and [illegible]. These [illegible] must be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] from Proteus [illegible] [illegible] over [illegible] the Old Man proves to be a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] What he says [illegible]

[illegible] the earth's axis, the Pole.
[illegible] *Odyssey*, trans. by Rouse, p. 65. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] how and where to begin his labours.

[illegible] the Naassenes say, "the knowledge of the complete man is deep [illegible] and hard to comprehend."

[illegible]

nary people of their sexuality. The sp[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 'book').

[illegible]

hemlock

[illegible]

8

Father of the Son of Man

book at the top of the letter Yod (*Mosare Kenuba*, III, 1.)

341 [illegible] Monoimos describes the [illegible] of the Christian message.

342 A parallel conception is to be found in Plotinus, who lived about the same time (205–70). He says in the *Enneads*: "Self-knowledge reveals the fact that the soul's natural movement is not in a straight line, unless indeed it have undergone some deviation. On the contrary, it circles around something interior, around a centre. Now the centre is that from which proceeds the circle, that is, the soul. The soul will therefore move around the centre, that is, around the principle from which she proceeds; and, trending towards it, she will attach herself to it, as indeed all souls should do. The souls of the divinities ever direct themselves towards it, and that is the secret of their divinity; for divinity consists in being attached to the centre. . . . Anyone who withdraws from it is a man who has remained un-unified, or who is a brute."[137]

343 Here the point is the centre of a circle that is created, so to speak, by the circumambulation of the soul. But this point is the "centre of all things," a God-image. This is an idea that still underlies the mandala symbols in modern dreams.[138]

344 Of equal significance is the idea, also common among the Gnostics, of the spark, the *spinther*.[139] It corresponds to the *scintilla*, the little spark of the soul, in Meister Eckhart,[140] which we meet much earlier in the teachings of Satornilus.[141] Similarly, Heraclitus, "the physicist," is said to have conceived the soul as a "spark of stellar essence."[142] Hippolytus says that in the doctrine of the Sethians the darkness held "the bright

137 Enneads, VI, 9, 8 (Guthrie trans., p. 165, slightly mod.).

138 "A Study in the Process of Individuation" and "Concerning Mandala Symbolism."

139 [illegible] Manes.

140 [illegible]

141 Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, I, 24, [illegible] a small part of the [illegible] VII, 28, 3 (Legge trans., II, pp. 80f.).

142 Macrobius, *Commentarius in Somnium Scipionis*, XIV, 19.

[illegible] very small [illegible] immutable."[147]

[illegible]

[146] *Elenchos*, V, 19, 7: [illegible]

[illegible] my soul from the hand of hell."

[147] *Elenchos*, V, 21, 11: [illegible]

[illegible] from a star, which scorched him. (Bonnet, p. 146.)

[148] Maier, *De circulo physico quadrato* (1616), p. 27.

[illegible]

[150] *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 891.

the starting point of creation.[153] Similarly John Dee says that all things originated from the point and the monad.[154] Indeed, God himself is simultaneously both the centre and the circumference. In Mylius the point is called the bird of Hermes.[155] In the "Novum lumen" it is spirit and fire, the life of the arcane substance, similar to the spark.[156] This conception of the point is more or less the same as that of the Gnostics.

230 From these citations we can see how Christ was assimilated to symbols that also meant the kingdom of God, for instance the grain of mustard seed, the hidden treasure, and the pearl of great price. He and his kingdom have the same meaning. Objections have always been made to this dissolution of Christ's personality, but what has not been realized is that it represents at the same time an assimilation and integration of Christ into the human psyche.[157] The result is seen in the growth of the human personality and in the development of consciousness. These specific attainments are now gravely threatened in our antichristian age, not only by the sociopolitical delusional systems, but above all by the rationalistic hybris which is tearing our consciousness from its transcendent roots and holding before it immanent goals.

153 "Physica genesis," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 382.
154 *Monas hieroglyphica* (first edn., 1564). Also in *Theatr. chem.* (1602), II, p. 218.
155 *Phil. ref.*, p. 131.
156 *Mus. herm.*, p. 559.
157 Here I would like to cite a theological opinion: "Jesus is a synthesis and a growth, and the resultant form is one which tells of a hundred forces which went to its making. But the interesting thing is that the process did not end with the closing of the canon. Jesus is still in the making." Roberts, "Jesus or Christ?—A Reply," p. 184.

XIV

THE STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF THE SELF

1

1 *Elenchos*, V, 7, 8 (Legge trans., I, p. 123).

2 *Elenchos*, VIII, 15, 1ff. Cf. Legge trans., II, p. 10.

the Kena Upanishad: "By whom willed and directed does the mind alight on its objects? By whom commanded does the first breath move? Who sends forth the speech we utter here? What god is it that stirs the eye and ear? The hearing of the ear, the thinking of the mind, the speaking of the speech. . . . That which speech cannot express, by which speech is expressed . . . which the mind cannot think, by which the mind thinks, know that as Brahman."[3]

349 Yajnavalkya defines it in indirect form in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad: "He who dwells in all beings yet is apart from all beings, whom no beings know, whose body is all beings, who controls all beings from within, he is your Self, the inner controller, the immortal. . . . There is no other seer but he, no other hearer but he, no other perceiver but he, no other knower but he. He is your Self, the inner controller, the immortal. All else is of sorrow."[4]

350 In Monoimos, who was called "the Arab," Indian influences are not impossible. His statement is significant because it shows that even in the second century[5] the ego was considered the exponent of an all-embracing totality, the self, a concept that by no means all psychologists are familiar with even today. These insights in the Near East and in India are the product of intense introspective [illegible] *Gnosis* is undoubtedly a *psychological knowledge whose contents derive from the unconscious*. It reached its insights by concentrating on the "subjective factor,"[6] which consists empirically in the demonstrable influence that the collective unconscious exerts on the conscious mind. This would explain the astonishing parallelism between Gnostic symbolism and the findings of the psychology of the unconscious.

351 I would like to round off this part of my study by summarizing the symbols previously discussed. For this purpose we must first of all review the facts that led psychologists to postulate an archetype of wholeness, i.e., the self. These are in the first place dreams and visions, in the second place products of active imagination in which symbols of wholeness appear. The most

[3] Based on Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanishads*, p. 581.
[4] Ibid., pp. 228f.
[5] Hippolytus died about A.D. 230. Monoimos must therefore antedate him.
[6] *Psychological Types*, pars. 620ff.

3 [*Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 138f., fig. 31]

353 The image of the city, house, and vessel brings us to their content—the inhabitant of the city or house, and the water contained in the vessel. The inhabitant in his turn has a relationship to the quaternity, and is regarded as the unity of the four. The water appears in many dreams and visions as a blue expanse reflecting the sky, as a lake, as four rivers (e.g., Switzerland as the heart of Europe with the Rhine, Ticino, Rhone, and Inn, or the Garden of Eden with the Gihon, Pishon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates), as healing water and consecrated water, etc. Sometimes the water is associated with fire or even combined with it as fire-water (wine, alcohol).

354 The inhabitant of the quadratic space leads to the human figure. Apart from the geometrical and numerical symbols, this is the commonest symbol of the self. It is either a god or a godlike human being, a prince, a priest, a great man, an historical personality, a dearly loved father, an admired example, the successful elder brother—in short, a figure that transcends the ego-personality of the dreamer. There are corresponding feminine figures in a woman's psychology.

355 Just as the circle is contrasted with the square, so the quaternity is contrasted with the [illegible] motif, and the positive bearers of good, admirable, and lovable human figures with a daemonic, malevolent creature who is negative, evil, despicable, and an object of fear. Like all archetypes, the self has a paradoxical, antinomial character. It is male and female, old man and child, powerful and helpless, large and small. The self is a true "complexio oppositorum,"[15] though this does not mean that it is anything like as contradictory in itself. It is quite possible that the seeming paradox is nothing but a reflection of the enantiodromian changes of the conscious attitude which can have a favourable or an unfavourable effect on the whole. The same is true of the unconscious in general, for its frightening figures may be caused both by the fear which the conscious mind has of the unconscious. The importance of consciousness would not be understood. Hence it is advisable to relate the contradictory manifestations of the unconscious causally to the conscious attitude, at least in some degree. But consciousness should not be overrated, except that experience provides too

15 As definition of God in Nicholas of Cusa. Cf. "The Psychology of the Transference," par. 537.

[illegible] moreover the proofs of the autonomy of unconscious complexes [illegible] processes for [illegible] of these [illegible] seen in the conscious mind. Between the conscious and the unconscious there is a kind of "uncertainty relationship," because the observer is inseparable from the observed and always disturbs it by the act of observation. In other words, exact observation of the unconscious prejudices observation of the conscious and vice versa.

356 Thus the self can appear in all shapes from the highest to the lowest, inasmuch as these transcend the scope of the ego personality in the manner of a daemonion. It goes without saying that the self also has its theriomorphic symbolism. The commonest of these images in modern dreams are, in my experience, the elephant, horse, bull, bear, white and black birds, fishes, and snakes. Occasionally one comes across tortoises, snails, spiders, and beetles. The principal plant symbols are the flower and the tree. Of the inorganic products, the commonest are the mountain and lake.

357 Where there is an undervaluation of sexuality the self is symbolized as a phallus. Undervaluation can consist in an ordinary repression or in overt devaluation. In certain differentiated persons a purely biological interpretation and evaluation of sexuality can also have this effect. Any such conception overlooks the spiritual and "mystical" implications of the sexual instinct.[10] These have existed from time immemorial as psychic facts, but are devalued and repressed on rationalistic and philosophical grounds. In all such cases one can expect an unconscious [illegible] by way of compensation. A [illegible] of this is the mainly sexualistic approach to the psyche that is to be found in Freud.

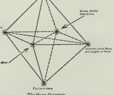
2

358 Coming now to the Gnostic symbols of the self, we find that the Naassenes of Hippolytus lay most emphasis on the human images. Of the geometrical and arithmetical symbols the most important are the quaternity, the ogdoad, the trinity, and unity. Here we shall give our attention mainly to the totality symbol of the quaternity, and above all to the symbol mentioned in

[10] Cf. Hurwitz, "Archetypische Motive in der chassidischen Mystik," ch. VI.

section 6 of the last chapter, which I would like to call, for short, the Moses Quaternio. We shall then consider the second Naassene Quaternio, the one with the four rivers of Paradise, which I shall call the Paradise Quaternio. Though differently constituted, the two quaternios express roughly the same idea, and in what follows I shall try not only to relate them to one another psychologically, but also to bring out their connection with later (alchemical) quaternary structures. In the course of these investigations we shall see how far the two quaternios are characteristic of the Gnostic age, and how far they can be correlated with the archetypal history of the mind in the Christian aeon.

359 The quaternity in the Moses Quaternio[17] is evidently constructed according to the following schema:



The Moses Quaternio

360 The "lower Adam" corresponds to the ordinary mortal man, Moses to the culture hero and lawgiver, and thus, on a personal level, to the "father"; Zipporah, as the daughter of a king

[17] Elenchos, V, 8, 2.

and priest to the "higher mother." For the ordinary man, these two represent the "royal pair,"[18] which for Moses corresponds on the one hand to his "higher man" and on the other hand to his anima, Miriam. The "higher" man is synonymous with the "spiritual" or "inner" man, who is represented in the quaternio by Jethro. Such is the meaning of the quaternio when seen from the standpoint of Moses. But since Moses is related to Jethro as the lower Adam or ordinary man is to Moses, the quaternio cannot be understood merely as the structure of Moses' personality, but must be looked at from the standpoint of the lower Adam as well. We then get the following quaternio:

MOSES *as culture-hero*	——	ZIPPORAH *as higher mother*
THE LOWER ADAM *as ordinary man*	——	EVE *as ordinary woman*

361 From this we can see that the Naassene quaternio is in a sense unsymmetrical, since it leads to a senarius (hexad) with an exclusively upward tendency. Jethro and Miriam have to be added to the above four as a kind of third storey, as the higher counterparts of Moses and Zipporah. We thus get a gradual progression or series of steps leading from the lower to the higher Adam. This psychology evidently underlies the elaborate lists of Valentinian syzygies. The lower Adam or somatic man consequently appears as the lowest stage of all, from which there can be only an ascent. But, as we have seen, the four persons in the Naassene quaternio are chosen so skilfully that it leaves room not only for the incest motif [Jethro-Miriam], which is never lacking in the marriage quaternio, but also for the extension of the ordinary man's psychic structure downwards, towards the sub-human, the dark and evil side represented by the shadow. That is to say, Moses marries the "Ethiopian woman," and Miriam, the prophetess and mother-sister, becomes "leprous," which is clear proof that her relation to Moses has taken a negative turn. This is further confirmed by the fact that Miriam "spoke against" Moses and even stirred up his brother Aaron against him. Accordingly, we get the following senarius:

[18] Cf. "The Psychology of the Transference," pars. 410ff.

THE LOWER ADAM	EVE
MOSES	ETHIOPIAN WOMAN
JETHRO, *the heathen priest*	MIRIAM, *the 'white' leper*

362 Though nothing is said against Jethro, "the great wise one," in the Bible story, yet as a Midianite priest he did not serve Yahweh and did not belong to the chosen people but departs from them to his own country.[19] He seems also to have borne the name Reguel, "friend of God," and to have helped Moses with his superior wisdom. He is, accordingly, a numinous personality, the embodiment of an archetype, obviously that of the "wise old man" who personifies the spirit in myth and folklore. The spirit, as I have shown elsewhere,[20] has a dichotomous nature. Just as Moses in this case represents his own shadow by taking to wife the black daughter of the earth, so Jethro, in his capacity as heathen priest and stranger, has to be included in the quaternio as the "lower" aspect of himself, with a magical and nefarious significance (though this is not vouched for in the text).[21]

363 As I have already explained, the Moses Quaternio is an individual variant of the common marriage quaternio found in folklore.[22] It could therefore be designated just as well with other mythical names. The basic schema of the cross-cousin marriage

HUSBAND	COUSIN AS WIFE
HUSBAND'S SISTER	WIFE'S BROTHER

has numerous variants: for instance, the sister can be replaced by the mother or the wife's brother by a father-like figure. But the incest motif remains a characteristic feature. Since the schema is a primary one characterizing the psychology of love relationships and also of the transference, it will, like all characterological schemata, obviously manifest itself in a "favourable" and an "unfavourable" form, for the relationships in question also exhibit the same ambivalence: everything a man does has a positive and a negative aspect.

[19] Exodus 18 : 27.

[20] "Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," pars. 400ff.

[21] Since the whole Shadow Quaternio is a symmetrical construction, the "good Wise Man" must here be contrasted with a correspondingly dark, chthonic figure.

[22] Cf. "Psychology of the Transference," pars. 425ff.

364 The reader, therefore, should not let himself be put off by the somewhat scurrilous Gnostic nomenclature. The names are accidental, whereas the schema itself is universally valid. The same is true of the "Shadow Quaternio," for which I have kept the same names because the biography of Moses offers certain features that are well suited to illustrate the shadow.

365 The lower quaternio teaches us nothing about the "lower Adam" but about his dark theriomorphic prefiguration, the serpent who was created before man, or the Gnostic Naas. Accordingly we have the structures shown on the facing page.

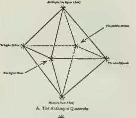
366 This schema is no idle pastime, inasmuch as the texts make it abundantly clear that the Gnostics were quite familiar with the dark aspect of their metaphysical figures, so much so that they caused the greatest offence on that account. One has only to think of the identification of the good God with Priapus[23] or of the Anthropos with the ithyphallic Hermes. It was, moreover, the Gnostics, e.g., Basilides, who exhaustively discussed the problem of evil (πόθεν τὸ κακόν, whence comes evil?). The serpentine form of the Nous and the Agathodaimon does not mean that the serpent has only a good aspect. Just as the Apophis-serpent was the traditional enemy of the Egyptian sun-god, so the devil, "that ancient serpent,"[24] is the enemy of Christ the novus Sol. The good, perfect, spiritual God was opposed by an imperfect, vain, ignorant, and incompetent demiurge. There were archontic Powers that gave to mankind a corrupt "chirographum" (handwriting) from which Christ had to redeem them.[25]

367 With the dawn of the second millennium the ancient [illegible]

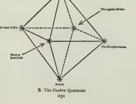
23 In the gnosis of Justin. See Hippolytus, Elenchos, V, 26, 32 (Legge trans., I, p. [illegible]) [illegible] the Good One is Priapus.

24 Rev. 12 : 9.

25 Coloss. 2 : 14: "Blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us, ... [illegible] ... receive a divine character, but the parts of the body are imprinted with the signs of the zodiac (caeli signa).



A. The Anthropos Quaternio



B. The Shadow Quaternio

more and more towards the dark side. The demiurge became the devil who had created the world, and, a little later, alchemy began to develop its conception of Mercurius as the partly material, partly immaterial spirit that penetrates and saturates all things, from stones and metals to the highest living organisms. In the form of a snake he dwells inside the earth, has a body, soul, and spirit, was believed to have a human shape like the homunculus or *homo altus*, and was regarded as the chthonic God.[26] From this we can see clearly that the serpent was either a forerunner of man or a distant copy of the Anthropos, and now justified as the equation Naas = Nous = Logos = Christ = Higher Adam. The medieval extension of this equation towards the dark side had, as I have said, already been prepared by Gnostic pneumatism. This appears as early as the fifteenth century in the alchemical Codex Ashburnham 1166,[27] and in the sixteenth century Mercurius was identified with Hermes Kyllenios.[28]

3

368 It is significant that Gnostic philosophy found its continuation in alchemy.[29] Mater Alchimia is one of the mothers of modern science, and modern science has given us an unparalleled knowledge of the dark side of matter. It has also penetrated into the secrets of physiology and evolution, and made the very roots of life itself an object of investigation. In this way the human mind has sunk deep into the sublunary world

26 "The Spirit Mercurius," esp. pars. 271, 282–289.

27 See *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 31.

28 [illegible] of the *alma soror* of Phoebus:

> "Tu quoque, nec coeptis Cyllenie audacibus unquam
> Defueris, tibi nam puro de fonte perennis
> Rivulus argentum, vulgo quod vivere dicunt,
> Sufficit, et tantis praestat primordia rebus
>
> (You too, Cyllenian, this bold enterprise
> Fail not, the stream from whose pure spring supplies
> The silver men call "quick," the primal state
> [illegible]

29 In the Western Roman Empire there was a [illegible] from [illegible] the time of the first translations from the Arabic.

[illegible]

is being enacted before our eyes.

[illegible]

[80] [illegible]

[81] ζῷον πνευματικώτατον, 'the most spiritual animal.'

aspect of an animal. This is a view that can be found at a very early date [illegible] the [illegible] represent [illegible] of believers.[83] We also meet it in Origen, who speaks of the animals contained in man.[84] Since the shadow, in itself, is unconscious for most people, the snake would correspond to what is totally unconscious and incapable of becoming conscious, but which, as the collective unconscious and as instinct, seems to possess a peculiar wisdom of its own and a knowledge that is often felt to be supernatural. This is the treasure which the snake (or dragon) guards, and also the reason why the snake signifies evil and darkness on the one hand and wisdom on the other. Its unrelatedness, coldness, and dangerousness express the instinctuality that with ruthless cruelty rides roughshod over all moral and any other human wishes and considerations [illegible] the sudden glance of a poisonous snake.

371 In alchemy the snake is the symbol of Mercurius [illegible], who was identified with the god of revelation, Hermes. Both have a pneumatic nature. The *serpens Mercurii* is a chthonic [illegible] who dwells in matter, more especially in the [illegible] chaos hidden in creation, the [illegible]. The snake symbol in alchemy points back to [illegible] earlier [illegible]. Since the [illegible] was [illegible] by the alchemists as a [illegible] of the creation of the world, the [illegible] Mercurius [illegible] and [illegible] god [illegible] reminded [illegible] and therefore of the [illegible] who [illegible] all sorts of tricks [illegible] work. [illegible] whose [illegible] the snake [illegible] the alchemical famil[iar] Mercurius. [illegible] Mercurius is the slippery, evasive [illegible] of the hermaphrodite, and for that reason he has to be overcome.

372 [illegible] the Naassenes [illegible] parallel with

[83] [illegible] the [illegible] are [illegible] Clement of Alexandria [illegible] pp. 64f.

[84] [illegible] Naassenes. See [illegible] of Alexandria [illegible] II, 10, 115 [illegible] II, p. [illegible] The [illegible] are [illegible] of wolves, monkeys, lions, etc.

[85] *In Lev. hom.* [illegible] Migne, *P.G.* [illegible] when thou seest that thou hast all the things [illegible] that thou hast within thee even the animals which are offered in sacrifice."

the Moses quaternio and of similar meaning. Its fourfold nature consisted in the four rivers Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Phrat.[35] The serpent in Genesis is an illustration of the personified tree-numen, hence it is traditionally represented in or coiled round the tree. It is the tree's voice which persuades Eve—in Luther's version—that "it would be good to eat of the tree, and pleasant to behold that it is a lusty tree." In the fairytale of "The Spirit in the Bottle," Mercurius can likewise be interpreted as a tree numen.[36] In the Ripley "Scrowle," Mercurius appears as a snake in the shape of a Melusina descending from the top of the Philosophical Tree (tree of knowledge).[37] The tree stands for the development and phases of the transformation process,[38] and its fruits or flowers signify the consummation of the work.[39] In the fairytale Mercurius is hidden in the roots of a great oak tree, i.e., in the earth. For it is in the interior of the earth that the Mercurial serpent dwells.

373 For the alchemists Paradise was a favourite symbol of the *albedo*,[40] the regained state of innocence, and the source of its rivers is a symbol of the *aqua permanens*.[41] For the Church Fathers Christ is this source,[42] and Paradise means the ground of the soul from which the fourfold river of the Logos bubbles forth.[43] We find the same symbol in the alchemist and mystic John Pordage: divine Wisdom is a "New Earth, the heavenly Land. . . . For from this Earth grew all the Trees of Life. . . . Thus did Paradise . . . rise up from the Heart and Centre of this New Earth, and thus did the lost Garden of Eden flourish in greenness."[44]

35 Euphrates.

36 "The Spirit Mercurius," Part I.

37 See *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 257.

38 Ibid., par. 357.

39 Ibid., fig. 131, and "The Philosophical Tree," pars. 402ff.

40 Ripley, *Cantilena*, verse 28 (cf. *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, p. 317), and *Chymische Schriften*, p. 51; also Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 124.

41 "A land to be watered with the clear water of paradise." (Hollandus, "Fragmentum de lapide," *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 142.) The "Tractatus Aristotelis ad Alexandrum Magnum, recollectus et collectus a quodam Christiano Philosopho" (*Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 885) compares the [illegible] with the water of paradise which makes man "whole," incorruptible and immortal. "From this water all true Philosophers have had life and [illegible]"

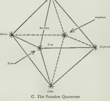
42 Didymus of Alexandria, *De trinitate*, Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 39, col. 456.

43 St. Ambrose, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. 45, 12 (*Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, LXIV, p. 337). Cf. Rahner, "Flumina de ventre Christi," pp. 269ff.

44 *Sophia* (1699), p. 9.

4

374 The snake symbol brings us to the images of Paradise, tree, and earth. This amounts to an evolutionary regression from the animal kingdom back to plants and inorganic nature, epitomized in alchemy by the secret of matter, the *lapis*. Here the *lapis* is not to be understood as the end-product of the *opus* but rather as its initial material. This arcane substance was also called *lapis* by the alchemists. The symbolism here described can be represented diagrammatically as another quaternio or double pyramid:



C. The Paradise Quaternio

375 The *lapis* was thought of as a unity and therefore often stands for the *prima materia* in general. But just as the latter is a bit of the original chaos which was believed to be hidden somewhere in metals, particularly in mercury, or in other substances, and is not in itself a simple thing (as the name "massa confusa" shows), so too the *lapis* consists of the four elements or

has to be put together from them.[43] In the chaos the elements are not united, they are merely coexistent and have to be combined through the alchemical procedure. They are even hostile to one another and will not unite of their own accord. They represent, therefore, an original state of conflict and mutual repulsion. This image serves to illustrate the splitting up or unfolding of the original unity into the multiplicity of the visible world. Out of the split-up quaternity the opus puts together the unity of the stone in the form of the quaternio. As the *homo quadratus* and a living being, the stone is not just an allegory but is a direct parallel of Christ[44] and the earthly Adam, of the heavenly Original Man, of the second Adam (Christ), and of the serpent. The nature of this first quaternio is therefore a further counterpart of the Anthropos.

376 As already mentioned, the constituents of the stone form as the union of the four elements,[45] which in their turn represent an anticipation of the unknowable ultimate state of matter. It was the *prima materia*, the arcanum, the primary substance, which in Paracelsus and his followers is called the *increatum*, and is regarded as coeternal with God, a correct interpretation of the passage in Genesis 1 : 2: "And the 'uncreated' earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God brooded over the face of the waters." This primary substance is round (*massa globosa, rotundum*), [illegible] Like the world and the world-soul, it is in fact the world-soul and the world-substance in one. It is the "stone that has a spirit."[46] In modern parlance the most elementary building-stone in the architecture of matter, the atom, which is an intellectual model. The alchemists describe the

43 "The stone is made of the four elements, like Adam. [illegible] mediator, making peace between the enemies or elements, so that they love one another in a most embrace." (Tractatus aureus, *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 691).

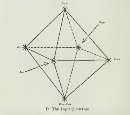
44 Cf. the evidence for this in *Psychology and Alchemy*, "The Lapis-Christ Parallel."

45 Maier (*Philo. ref.*, p. [illegible]) identifies the elements that constitute the stone with *corpus, spiritus* and *anima*: *corpus* is water, earth, and *spiritus* is the *nodus* [illegible] *animae et corporis* [illegible] and therefore [illegible] the water and air which [illegible] the *anima* are also spirit. Three of the elements are [illegible]

46 Quotation from Ostanes in Zosimos. Cf. Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, III, vi, 5.

round element, now as primal water, now as primal fire, or as pneuma, primal earth, or "corpusculum nostrae sapientiae," the little body of our wisdom.[49] As water or fire it is the universal solvent; as stone and metal it is something that has to be dissolved and changed into air (pneuma, spirit).

377 The *lapis* symbolism can once more be visualized diagrammatically as a double pyramid:



D. The Lapis Quaternio

Zosimos calls the *rotundum* the omega element (Ω), which probably signifies the head.[50] The skull is mentioned as the vessel of transformation in the Sabaean treatise "Platonis liber quartorum,"[51] and the Philosophers styled themselves "children of the golden head,"[52] which is probably synonymous with filii sapientiae. The head is often synonymous with the *lapis*, so that there is no difference between the vessel and its content,

[49] "Aurora consurgens," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 208.

[50] Cf. my remarks on the significance of the head in "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," pars. 365ff. "Head" also means "beginning," e.g., "head of the Nile," etc.

[51] *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 151.

[52] Berthelot, III, x, 1.

[illegible] According to the old [illegible] Original Man is [illegible] should be made [illegible] the spirit and the [illegible] The anonymous author of [illegible] also writes about [illegible] philosophical Pelican, as shown on the next page.[56]

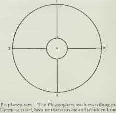
[illegible]

ch. XXXII and XXXIV

[illegible]

[56 [illegible] Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," fig. B7.]

378 He continues: "A is the mode, as it were the origin and source from which the other letters flow, and likewise the final goal to which all the others flow back, as rivers flow into the ocean or into the great sea." This explanation is enough to show that the vessel is nothing else but a mandala, symbolizing the self, or the higher Adam with his four emanations, like Horus with his four sons. The author calls it the "Septenarius magicus," on account of the hidden magic number seven.[60] Likewise Maria



the Prophetess says: "The Philosophers teach everything except the Hermetic vessel, because that is divine and is hidden from the Gentiles by the Lord's wisdom, and they who know it not, know not the true method because of their ignorance of the vessel of Hermes." Theobald de Hoghelande adds: "Senior says that the vision thereof is more to be sought after than [knowledge of] the Scriptures." Maria the Prophetess says: "This is the vessel of Hermes, which the Stoics hid, and it is no nigromantic vessel, but it is the measure of thy fire [*mensura ignis tui*]."[61]

[60] That is, counting the letters F and G (not included in the diagram), which signify Above and Below.

[61] *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 324; *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 199; *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 323.

[illegible]
system as a prototype.

5

[illegible]

[86] [illegible] "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," fig. B4.

[87] Marriage classes and settlements.

[88] [illegible] —EDITORS.]

[illegible] and social consistence, but is beginning to turn into a conscious relationship. This happens when the original cross-cousin marriage becomes obsolete as a result of the further differentiation of marriage classes into six, eight, or twelve-class systems. The cause of the advancement of the dimensions that goes hand in hand with this development is the regression of the endogamous tendency, the "kinship libido," which can no longer find adequate satisfaction owing to the increasing strangeness of the marriage partner.[40]

Besides the marriage quaternio, the Gnostics also used the quaternity of the rivers of Paradise as a means of organizing their numerous symbols. There are thus two [illegible] attempts in the systems we have [illegible] to organize the apparently [illegible] [illegible]. This accords with our experience of the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] having active [illegible] and in [illegible] [illegible]. In both cases [illegible] [illegible] appear from time to time [illegible] [illegible] as opposed to the [illegible] [illegible] have a compensatory meaning.

The four quaternios [illegible] above are first and foremost an attempt to arrange systematically the almost limitless wealth of symbols in Gnosticism and its contemporary [illegible]. But such an arrangement of [illegible] also proves useful for understanding the [illegible] [illegible] of modern dreams. The images we encounter in this field are even more varied, and so confusing in their complexity that some kind of organizing schema is absolutely essential. As it is advisable to proceed historically, I have taken the Moses Quaternio as a starting point, because it derives directly from the primitive schema of the cross-cousin marriage. [illegible] this quaternio has only a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] one could base the system just as easily on any other marriage quaternio, [illegible] [illegible] quaternios, such as, for instance, Horus and his four sons. This quaternio is not aboriginal [illegible]. It [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] feminine element.[41]

40 "Psychology of the Transference," par. 438.

41 [illegible] [illegible] they are rare.

[illegible] [illegible] element [illegible] original place, as would be the case with the [illegible] Horus quaternio.

It is most important that just the extreme opposites, masculine and feminine, and so on, should appear linked together. That is why the natural pairs of opposites are linked together in quaternios, e.g., warm-cold, dry-moist. Applied to the Moses Quaternio, the following schema of relationships would result:

JETHRO
Father

MOSES — MIRIAM
Brother — *Sister*

ZIPPORAH
Daughter

384 Whereas the first double pyramid, the Anthropos Quaternio, corresponds to the Gnostic model, the second one is a construction derived psychologically from the first but based on the data contained in the Biblical texts used by the Gnostics. The psychological reasons for constructing a second quaternio have already been discussed. That the second must be the "shadow" of the first is due to the fact that the lower Adam, the mortal man, possesses a "natural" psyche and is therefore not adequately expressed by a quaternity supraordinate to him. If he were, he would be an unsymmetrical figure just as the higher Adam is unsymmetrical and has to be complemented by a subordinate quaternity related to him like his shadow or his darker reflection.

385 Now, just as the Anthropos Quaternio finds its symmetrical complement in the lower Adam, so the lower Adam is balanced by the subordinate Shadow Quaternio constructed after the pattern of the upper one. The symmetrical complement of the lower Adam is the *serpent*. The choice of this symbol is justified firstly by the well-known association of Adam with the snake as his daemon, his familiar spirit. Secondly, the snake is the commonest symbol for the dark, chthonic world of instinct. It may—as frequently happens—be replaced by an equivalent cold-blooded animal, such as a dragon, crocodile, or fish.

But the snake is not just a nefarious chthonic being; it is also, as we have already mentioned, a symbol of wisdom and hence of light, goodness, and healing.[72] Even in the New Testament it is simultaneously an allegory of Christ and of the devil, just as we have seen that the fish was. Similarly the dragon, which for us has only a negative meaning, has a positive significance in China, and sometimes in Western alchemy too. The inner polarity of the snake symbol far exceeds that of man. It is overt, whereas man's is partly latent or potential. The serpent surpasses Adam in cleverness and knowledge and can outwit him. She is older than he, and is evidently equipped by God with a superhuman intelligence, like that son of God who took over the role of Satan.[73]

386 Just as man culminates above in the idea of a "light" and good God, so he rests below on a dark and evil principle traditionally described as the devil or as the serpent that personifies Adam's disobedience. And just as we symmetrized man by the serpent, so the serpent has its complement in the second Naassene quaternio or Paradise Quaternio. Paradise takes us into the world of plants and animals. It is, in fact, a plantation or garden enlivened by animals, the epitome of all the growing things that sprout out of the earth. As *serpens mercurialis* the snake is not only related to the god of revelation, Hermes, but as a vegetation numen calls forth the "blessed greenness," all the budding and blossoming of plant life.[74] Indeed, this serpent actually dwells in the interior of the earth and is the pneuma that lies hidden in the *stone*.[75]

387 The symmetrical complement of the serpent, then, is the *stone* as representative of the earth. Here we enter a later developmental stage of the symbolism, the alchemical stage, whose central idea is the *lapis*. Just as the serpent forms the lower opposite of man, so the *lapis* complements the serpent. It corresponds, on the other hand, to man, for it is not only represented

72 Like, for instance, the Aesculapian and Agathodaimon serpent.

73 Schärf, "Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament," p. 151.

74 "O blessed greenness, which generatest all things, whence know that no vegetable and no fruit appeareth in the bud but that it hath a green colour. Likewise know that the generation of this thing is green, for which reason the Philosophers have called it a bud" (*Ros. phil., Art. aurif.*, II, p. 220).

75 Cf. the Ostanes quotation in Zosimos, *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 405.

to human form, but even his "body, soul, and spirit" is an human [illegible] symbol of the self. It is [illegible] a collective [illegible]. The stone is the [illegible] of the [illegible]. Though [illegible] but a composite [illegible] for the stone [illegible] their [illegible] would have been said.

388 [illegible] is not arbitrary but is dictated [illegible]. The lapis is produced, as we have already seen, from the splitting and putting together of the four elements from the rotundum. The rotundum [illegible] transcendent idea which by reason of its roundness[70] and wholeness refers to the Original Man, the Anthropos.

389 Accordingly our four double pyramids would arrange themselves in a circle and form the well-known [illegible]. As the fifth stage, the rotundum would then be identical with the first, that is to say [illegible] has a secret relationship to the Anthropos. [illegible] and at the same time the most spiritual [illegible] is the world soul and a "blessed God."[72]

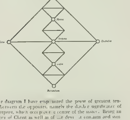
70 A hint that rotation may be a principle of matter.

[illegible]

Editors.]

6

390 We shall now try to condense the argument of the previous chapter and represent it graphically. Vertically arranged, our schema looks like this:

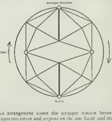


In the diagram I have emphasized the point of greatest tension between the opposites, namely the double significance of the serpent, which occupies the centre of the system. Being an allegory of Christ as well as of the devil, it contains and symbolizes the strongest polarity into which the Anthropos falls when he descends into Physis. The ordinary man has not reached this point of tension: he has it merely in the unconscious, i.e., in the serpent.[79] In the *lapis* the counterpart of man.

[79] Most people do not have sufficient range of consciousness to become aware of the opposites inherent in human nature. The tensions they generate remain for the most part unconscious, but can appear in dreams. Traditionally the snake stands for the vulnerable spot in man: it personifies his shadow, i.e., his weakness and unconsciousness. The greatest danger about unconsciousness is proneness to suggestion. The effect of suggestion is due to the release of an unconscious

the opposites are so to speak united, but with a visible seam or suture, as in the symbol of the hermaphrodite. This mars the unity of the lapis just as much as the shadow element mars Homo sapiens. In the higher Adam and in the rotundum the opposition is invisible. But presumably the one stands in absolute opposition to the other, and if both are identical as indistinguishable transcendental entities, this is one of those paradoxes that are the rule: a statement about something metaphysical can only be antinomial.

390 This arrangement in the uroboros gives the following picture:



This arrangement shows the stronger tension between anthropos rotundum and serpens on the one hand, and the lesser

dynamic, and the more unconscious it is, the more effective it will be. Hence the ever-widening split between conscious and unconscious increases the danger of psychic infection and mass psychosis. With the loss of symbolic ideas the bridge to the unconscious has broken down. Instinct no longer affords protection against unsound ideas and empty slogans. Rationality without tradition and without a basis in instinct is proof against no absurdity.

tension between *homo* and *lapis* on the other, expressed by the distance of the points in question from one another. The arrows indicate the descent into Physis and the ascent towards the spiritual. The lowest point is the serpent. The *lapis*, however, though of decidedly material nature, is also a spiritual symbol, while the *rotundum* connotes a transcendent entity symbolized by the secret of matter and thus comparable to the concept of the atom. The antinomial development of the concepts is in keeping with the paradoxical nature of alchemy.

392 The cross quaternity, which is a product of alchemical gnosis, brings us to the interesting physical speculations of alchemy. In the *Scrutinium chymicum* (1687) of Michael Maier (1568–1622) there is a picture[80] of the four elements as four different stages of fire (Plate I).

393 As the picture shows, the four spheres are filled with fire. The author comments with the following verses:

> Naturae qui imitaris opus, tibi quatuor orbes
> Quaerendi, interius quos levis ignis agat.
> Infimus hic Vulcanum referat, bene monstret at alter
> Mercurium, Lunam tertius orbis habet.
> Quartus Apollo tuus naturae auditor et ignis,
> Ducat in arte manus illa catena tuas.

From this we learn that the lowest sphere corresponds to Vulcan, the earthly fire, the second to Mercurius, the vegetative life-spirit, the third to the moon, the female, psychic principle, and the fourth to the sun, the male spiritual principle. It is evident from Maier's commentary that he is concerned on the one hand with the four *elements* and on the other with the four kinds of *fire* which are responsible for producing different states of aggregation. His *ignis elementaris re et nomine* would, according to its place in the sequence, correspond to Vulcan, the fire of Mercurius to air, the third fire to water and the moon, and the fourth, which would correspond to the sun, he calls terrenus (earthy). According to Ripley, whom Maier quotes, the *ignis elementalis* is the fire "which lights wood": it must therefore be the ordinary fire. The sun-fire, on the other hand, seems to be the fire in the earth, which today we would

[80] Emblema XVII, p. 49.

call "vulcanic," and corresponds to the solid state of aggregation ("terreus"). We thus get the following series:

VIGENÈRE SERIES[81]		RIPLEY SERIES	
ignis mundi intelligibilis	=	ignis naturalis[82]	=
ignis caelestis	=	ignis innaturalis[83]	=
ignis elementaris	=	ignis contra naturam[84]	=
ignis infernalis[81]	=	ignis elementalis	

MAIER SERIES

ignis terreus	=	Sulfur et Mercurius	=	Sol (Apollo)	=	earth
ignis aqueus	=	aquae		Moon (Luna)		water
ignis aereus	=	dracones		Mercurius	=	air
ignis elementalis	=	ignis elementalis re et nomine	=	Ordinary fire (Vulcan)	=	fire

STATES OF AGGREGATION

= solid
liquid
= gas
flame

395 The remarkable thing about this paralleling of states of aggregation with different kinds of fire is that it amounts to a kind of *phlogiston theory*—not, of course, explicit, but clearly hinted at: fire is peculiar to all the states of aggregation and is therefore responsible for their constitution. This idea is old[85] and can be found as early as the *Turba*, where Dardaris says: "The sulphurs are four souls (*animae*), which were hidden in the four elements."[86] Here the active principle (*sic!*) is not fire but sulphur. The idea, however, is the same, namely that the elements or states of aggregation can be reduced to a common denominator. Today we know that the factor common to antagonistic elements is *molecular movement* and that the states

[81] Vigenère comments: "The intelligible fire of the world is all light. The heavenly fire partakes of heat and light. The elemental fire has of light, heat, and glow. The infernal fire, opposed to the intelligible fire, of heat and burning without any light." [illegible] *Theatr. chem.*, VI, [illegible]
[82] "Is present in everything."
[83] "The heat of ashes and sands."
[84] "Tortures bodies, as the dragon."
[85] The oldest source is Heraclitus.
[86] *Turba*, ed. by Ruska, Sermo XLIII, p. 149.



I The Four Elements
From Michael Maier, *Scrutinium chymicum* (1687)

of the quaternio correspond to different degrees of this movement. Moreover, movement in its turn corresponds to a certain quantum of energy, so that the common denominator of the quaternio is energy. One of the stepping-stones to the modern concept of energy is Stahl's phlogiston theory,[37] which is based on the alchemical premises discussed above. We can see in them, therefore, the earliest beginnings of a theory of energy.[38]

395 The phlogiston theory adumbrated by the alchemists did not get as far as that, but it points unmistakably in that direction. Moreover, all the mathematical and physical elements from which a theory of energy could have been constructed were known in the seventeenth century. Energy is an abstract concept which is indispensable for exact description of the behaviour of bodies in motion. In the same way bodies in motion can only be represented with the help of the system of space-time coordinates. Whenever movement is established, it is done by means of the space-time quaternio, which can be expressed either by the axiom of Maria, 3 + 1, or by the [illegible]. This quaternio would therefore replace that of the four elements, where the one that corresponds to the time co-ordinate or the fourth in the alchemical series of elements is characterized by the fact that *one* element has an exceptional position, like fire or earth.[39]

396 The exceptional position of one of the factors in a quaternio can also be expressed by its *duplex natura*. For instance, one of the four rivers of Paradise, the Euphrates, signifies the mouth through which food goes in and prayers go out, as well as the Logos. In the Moses Quaternio, the wife of Moses plays the double role of Zipporah and of the Ethiopian woman. If we construct a quaternity from the divine equivalents of Maier's

[37] [illegible] Stahl [illegible] supposed that all combustible [illegible] substances [illegible]. It was assumed to be weightless or even to possess a negative weight. Cf. H. E. Fierz-David, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Chemie*, pp. 148f.

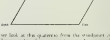
[38] Psychologically, of course, the primitive idea of mana is very much older, but here we are [illegible]. The [illegible] anima [illegible] mana theory. Earlier, mana was characteristically understood as animism.

[39] Fire as spiritual, the other elements material; earth unmoving, the others moving.

four elements—Apollo, Luna, Mercurius, Vulcan—we get a marriage quaternio with a brother-sister relationship:



In alchemy Mercurius is male-female and frequently appears as a virgin too. This characteristic (3 + 1, or 3 + 4) is also apparent in the space-time quaternio:



397 If we look at this quaternio from the standpoint of the three-dimensionality of space, then time can be conceived as a fourth dimension. But if we look at it in terms of the three qualities of time—past, present, future—then static space, in which changes of state occur, must be added as a fourth term. In both cases the fourth represents an incommensurable Other that is needed for their mutual determination. Thus we measure space by time and time by space. The Other, the fourth, corresponds in the Gnostic quaternities to the fiery god ("the fourth by number," to the dual wife of Moses (Zipporah and the Ethiopian woman), to the dual Euphrates (river and Logos), to the fire[10] in the alchemical quaternio of elements, to Mercurius duplex in Maier's quaternio of gods, and in the Christian

[10] Boehme calls the "fire of Nature" the "fourth form." "[illegible]" *De signatura rerum* (1682), p. 179.

Quaternity—if such an expression be permitted[91]—to Mars or the devil. These two incompatible figures are united in the Mercurius duplex of alchemy.[92]

389 The space-time quaternio is the archetypal *sine qua non* for any apprehension of the physical world—indeed, the very possibility of apprehending it. It is the organizing schema par excellence among the psychic quaternities. In its structure it corresponds to the psychological schema of the functions.[93] The 3 + 1 proportion frequently occurs in dreams and in spontaneous mandala drawings.

390 A modern parallel to the diagram of quaternities arranged on top of one another, if not also coupled with the idea of ascent and descent, can be found among the illustrations to my paper on mandala pictures.[94] The same idea also appears in the pictures relating to a case described there at some length, dealing with vibrations that formed "nodes."[95] Each of these nodes signified an outstanding personality, as was true of the picture in the first case. A similar motif may well underlie the representation of the Trinity here appended (Plate II), from the manuscript of a treatise by Joachim of Flora.[96]

91 [illegible] of the Trinity," pars. 243ff.

92 Cf. "The Spirit Mercurius," pars. 267ff.

93 [illegible] three differentiated functions and one undifferentiated, "inferior" [illegible] *Psychological Types* and the diagrams in Jacobi, *The Psychology of C. G. Jung*.

94 [illegible] the Process of Individuation," fig. 2, p. 309.

95 Ibid., Picture 3 and accompanying text.

96 Zurich Central Library, Graphica Collection, B X 606.

I would like in conclusion to mention the peculiar theory of God found in the Clementine Homilies. In God, pneuma and soma are one. When they separate, pneuma appears as the Son and wisdom of the future Aeon, but soma, actual substance or matter, divides into four, corresponding to the four elements which were always solemnly invoked at initiations. From the mixing of the four parts there arose the devil, the creation of this Aeon, and the *psyche* of this world. Soma has become psychized, [illegible]. God rules this world as much through the devil as through the Son, for both are in his hands.[97] God unfolds himself in the world in the form of syzygies, paired opposites, such as heaven/earth, day/night, male/female, etc. The last term of the first series is the Adam/Eve syzygy. At the end of this fragmentation process there follows the return to the beginning, the consummation of the aeon, the [illegible] through purification and annihilation.[98]

Anyone who knows the texts can hardly avoid being struck by the likeness which pseudo-Clementine theory bears to the basic conceptions of the alchemists, if we disregard its moral aspects. Thus we have the hostile brothers, Christ and the devil, who were regarded as brothers in the Jewish-Christian tradition; the [illegible], the four parts or elements; the paired opposites and their [illegible]; the parallels of the *lapis* and Mercurius with Christ; the [illegible] of the snake or dragon symbolism; also [illegible] and finally the figure of Mercurius duplex and of the [illegible] which unites the opposites in itself.

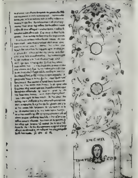
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If we now look [illegible] over the course our argument has taken, we see that the [illegible] four Gnostic quaternities, one of which [illegible] and the [illegible] comprise the [illegible] Moses [illegible] Anthropos Quaternio, and the Paradise Quaternio.[99] It is probably no accident that Hippolytus [illegible]

[97] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, I, p. 334.

[98] [illegible] the [illegible] section by Uhlhorn, in *Realencyklopädie für* [illegible], ed. by Hauck, IV, [illegible]

[99] [illegible] Paradise [illegible] not in the sense of the [illegible] or the Abode of the Blessed, but in the sense of the earthly Garden of Eden.



II The Trinity
From a manuscript by Joachim of Flora

these premises these two quaternities, or that the Naassenes knew only these; for the position of man is, in their system, closely connected with the higher Adam, but is separated from the chthonic world of plants and animals, namely Paradise. Only through his shadow has he a relationship to the serpent with its dual meaning. This situation is altogether characteristic of the age of Gnosticism and early Christianity. Man in those days was close to the "kingless race" [illegible] that is, to the upper quaternity, the kingdom of heaven, and looked upward; but what he was above does not rise higher, but ends below. Thus we felt impelled to symmetrize the lower Adam of the Naassenes by a Shadow Quaternio, for just as he cannot ascend direct to the higher Adam since the Moses Quaternio lies in between, so we have to assume a lower, shadowy quaternity corresponding to the upper one, lying between him and the lower principle, the serpent. This operation was obviously unknown in the Gnostic age, because the unsymmetrical upward trend seemed to disturb nobody but rather to be the very thing desired and on the programme. If therefore we insert between Man and Serpent a quaternity not mentioned in the texts, we do so because we can no longer conceive of a psyche that is oriented exclusively upwards and thus is not balanced by an equally strong consciousness of the lower man. This is a specifically modern state of affairs [illegible] consciousness [illegible] stood before. Only through Christ could he attain [illegible] consciousness mediating between God and the world, and by [illegible] Through the [illegible] knowledge of his shadow and its darkness. This development had at [illegible] been anticipated by the double meaning of the serpent. Just as the serpent [illegible] as well as [illegible] [illegible] consciousness.

Thus the Shadow Quaternio that counterbalances man's

[illegible] place when that [illegible] God. Therefore [illegible] Gnostic [illegible] with the historical development. [illegible] who broke the gates of hell and [illegible] the kingdom of [illegible] He was separated from evil [illegible] attitude was powerfully reinforced by the immediate expectation of the Second Coming. But when Christ did not reappear, a regression was only to be expected. When such a [illegible] and such great expectations are not fulfilled [illegible] [illegible] becomes [illegible] and power of [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] than a contradiction of it

[illegible]

the quaternio of alchemical states of aggregation, which, as we have seen, is ultimately based on the space-time quaternio. The latter comes into the category of archetypal quaternities and proves, like these, to be an indispensable principle for organizing the sense-impressions which the psyche receives from bodies in motion. Space and time form a psychological *a priori*, an aspect of the archetypal quaternity, which is altogether indispensable for acquiring knowledge of physical processes.

406 The development from the Shadow to the Lapis Quaternio illustrates the change in man's picture of the world during the course of the second millennium. The series ends with the concept of the *rotundum*, or of rotation as contrasted with the static quality of the quaternity, which, as we have said, proves to be of prime importance for apprehending reality. The rise of scientific materialism connected with this development appears on the one hand as a logical consequence, on the other hand as a deification of matter. This latter aspect is based, psychologically, on the fact that the *rotundum* coincides with the archetype of the Anthropos.

407 With this insight the ring of the uroboros closes, that symbol of the *opus circulare* of Nature as well as of the "Art."

7

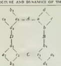
408 Our quaternio series could also be expressed in the form of an equation, where *A* stands for the initial state (in this case the Anthropos) and for the end state, and *B C D* for intermediate states. The formations that split off from them are denoted in each case by the small letters *a b c d*. With regard to the construction of the formula, we must bear in mind that we are concerned with the continual process of transformation of one and the same substance. This substance, and its respective state of transformation, will always bring forth its like; thus *A* will produce *a* and *B*, *b*; equally, *b* produces *B* and *c*, *C*. It is also assumed that *a* is followed by *b* and that the formula runs from left to right. These assumptions are legitimate in a psychological formula.

409 Naturally the formula cannot be arranged in linear fashion

but only in a circle, which for that reason moves to the right. A produces a b c like α. From α the process advances by contingence to β, which in turn produces B. The transformation [illegible] the same, that is, it is a process of becoming [illegible], as is already indicated by the spatial arrangement of A B Γ Δ [illegible] time in four qualitatively discrete units.[107] Our scientific understanding today is not based on a quaternity but on a triad of principles: space, time, causality.[108] Here, however, we are moving not in the sphere of modern scientific thinking but in that of the classical and medieval view of the world, which up to the time of Leibniz recognized the principle of *correspondence* and applied it naively and unreflectingly. In order to give our judgment on A, expressed by a b c, the character of wholeness, we must supplement our [illegible] thinking with the principle of correspondence or, as I have called it, [illegible].[109] The reason for this is that our conception of Nature is in certain respects incomplete and accordingly excludes observable facts from our understanding or else formulates them in a [illegible] negative way, as for instance in the paradox of "an effect without a cause."[110] Our Gnostic quaternity is a [illegible] product of the unconscious [illegible] a psychic fact which can be brought into relationship with the four orienting functions of consciousness. [illegible] the expression [illegible][111] and [illegible] constitute the essence of a [illegible] process.

410 The whole [illegible] returns to its beginning, and does so at the moment when D, the point of contingence, the state farthest removed from A, changes into a, by a kind of enantiodromia. We thus have

[107] [illegible] *supra*, pars. 118, 351.]
[108] [illegible] modern physics.
[109] [illegible] "An Acausal Connecting Principle."
[110] [illegible] pp. 150, 151 [illegible]
[111] [illegible] movement of our writing. The right [illegible] one is affected by the unconscious.



The formula reproduces exactly the essential features of the symbolic process of transformation. It shows the rotation of the mandala,[65] the antithetical play of complementary (or compensatory) processes, then the apocatastasis, i.e., the restoration of an original state of wholeness, which the alchemists expressed through the symbol of the uroboros, and finally the formula repeats the ancient alchemical tetrameria,[66] which is implicit in the fourfold structure of unity: A —  What the formula can only hint at, however, is the higher plane that is reached through the process of transformation and integration. The "sublimation" or progress or qualitative change consists in an unfolding of totality into four parts four times, which means nothing less than its becoming conscious. When psychic contents are split up into four aspects, it means that they have been subjected to discrimination by the four orienting functions of consciousness. Only the production of these four aspects makes a total description possible. The process depicted by our formula changes the originally unconscious totality into a conscious one. The Anthropos A descends from above through his Shadow B into Physis C (= serpent), and, through a kind of crystallization process D (= *lapis*) that reduces chaos to order, rises again

[65] Cf. "Concerning Mandala Symbolism," figs. 19, 21, 37, 60.

[66] Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 89 and 209f., in relation to the four *regimina* and *dispositiones*.

[illegible]

Gamow, *Atomic Energy*, p. [illegible]

[illegible] trying to account for the numinosity of the archetypes.

412 I am [illegible] aware of the ex[illegible] of this comparison. [illegible] appropriate to entertain [illegible] at the risk of being regarded as an amateur. [illegible] possesses [illegible] and the psyc[illegible] together as both of them [illegible] and from opposite directions [illegible] forward into transc[illegible] territory, the one with the concept of the atom, the other with that of the archetype.

413 The analogy with physics is not a digression, since the symbol [illegible] represents the descent into matter and [illegible] of the outside [illegible] the psyche. Psyche cannot be totally different from matter, for how otherwise could it move matter? And matter cannot be alien to psyche, for how else could matter produce psyche? Psyche and matter exist in one and the same world, and each partakes of the other, otherwise any reciprocal action would be impossible. If research could only advance far enough, therefore, we should arrive at an ultimate agreement between physical and psychological concepts. Our present attempts may be bold, but I believe they are on the right lines. Mathematics, for instance, has more than once proved that its purely logical constructions which transcend all experience subsequently coincided with the behaviour of things. This, like the events I call synchronistic, points to a profound harmony between all forms of existence.

414 Since analogy formation is a law which to a large extent governs the life of the psyche, we may fairly conjecture that our [illegible] speculative construction is not a new invention, but is prefigured on earlier levels of thought. Generally speaking, these prefigurations can be found in the most famous stages of the mystic transformation process, as well as in the different degrees of initiation into the mysteries. We also find them in the classical as well as Christian [illegible] the pneuma, the psyche, and the [illegible]. One of the most comprehensive attempts of this kind is the [illegible] in the Book of Platonic Tetralogies,[illegible] I have discussed [illegible]

[illegible] Harranite treatise [illegible] [illegible] translated from the Arabic in the 11th cent.

this order [illegible] *P[illegible]* [illegible] and can therefore [illegible] [illegible] have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] stages [illegible] [illegible] from four basic principles [illegible] the work of nature, 2 [illegible] composite natures [illegible] [illegible] Each of these [illegible] [illegible] has three stages [illegible] [illegible] with the [illegible] stage makes sixteen parts in all. But besides [illegible] [illegible] horizontal division [illegible] of the principles, each stage has its correspondences in the vertical series

	I	II	III	IV
1	*Op[illegible]*	*Aqu[illegible]*	*N[illegible]*	*N[illegible]*
2	*D[illegible]*	*T[illegible]*	*N[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
3	*Anima*	*Aer*	*Simp[illegible]*	*Ratio*
4	*Intellectus*	*Ignis*	*Aetheris simplicioris*	*Arcanum*

415 This table of correspondences shows the various aspects of the *[illegible]* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] This is evident from the [illegible] [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] found at [illegible] the [illegible] is based on a sixteen-part scheme [illegible] central figures consisting of [illegible] [illegible] Judex, and two [illegible] four *[illegible]* [illegible] sons, four [illegible] four [illegible]. The series is [illegible] from right to left. These [illegible] are arranged [illegible] a scheme of [illegible] houses [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] figures.

416 Athanasius Kircher [illegible] a quaternity system that is worth mentioning in this connection

I *[illegible] Mona[illegible] [illegible]* [illegible] *Men[illegible] [illegible] plicissima = Divina essentia = Exemplar divinum.*

(The One [illegible] First Monad [illegible] God [illegible] Root of all things [illegible] Simple [illegible] [illegible] [illegible])

II [illegible] *[illegible] + 2 + 3 + 4* [illegible] *[illegible]* *D[illegible]* [illegible] [illegible] *Ingen[illegible] [illegible] Compo[illegible] ab uno [illegible]*

[illegible] *De [illegible]* [illegible] *Gem[illegible]* *[illegible]* 1683), pp. 35f

[illegible] *De [illegible]* [illegible] pp. [illegible] I ha[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(. . . Second Monad [illegible] tenth = duality [illegible] spiritual world = intel[illegible] the Other — i.e., from opposites.)

[illegible] genita

[illegible]

[illegible] final and concrete unfolding of unities.)

417 K[illegible] the senses [illegible] the body [illegible] the last three [illegible] [illegible] And even [illegible] [illegible] matter.

418 K[illegible] edn.)]

of our formula. The alchemists were fond of picturing their *opus* as a circulatory process, as a circular distillation or as the uroboros, the snake biting its own tail, and they made innumerable pictures of this process. Just as the central idea of the *opus alchemicum* plainly signifies the self, so the *opus* with its countless symbols illustrates the process of individuation, the step-by-step development of the self from an unconscious state to a conscious one. That is why the *opus* as *prima materia* stands at the beginning of the process as well as at the end.[113] According to Michael Maier, the gold, another synonym for the self, comes from the *opus circulatorium* of the sun. This circle is "the line that runs back upon itself, like the serpent that with its head bites its own tail, wherein that eternal painter and potter God may be discerned."[114] In this circle Nature "has related the four qualities to one another and drawn, as it were, an equilateral square, since contraries are bound together by contraries and enemies by enemies, with the same everlasting bonds." Maier compares this squaring of the circle to the "homo quadratus, the four-square man who remains himself come weal come woe."[115] He calls it the "golden house, the twice bisected circle, the four-cornered phalanx, the rampart, the city wall, the four-sided line of battle."[116] This circle is a magic circle consisting of the union of opposites, "immune to all injury."

409 Independently of Western tradition, the same idea of the circular *opus* can be found in Chinese alchemy. "When the light is made to move in a circle, all the energies of heaven and earth, of the light and the dark, are crystallized," says the text of the *Golden Flower*.[117]

410 The [illegible] the circular apparatus that assists the circular process is mentioned as early as Olympiodorus.[118] Dorn is of the opinion that the "circular movement of the Physio-chemists" comes from the earth, the lowest element. For the fire originates in the earth and transforms the finer minerals and waters into air, which, rising up to the heavens, condenses there

113 [illegible] in *Psychology and Alchemy*, esp. pars. 427, n. 4, and 431.

114 *De circulo physico quadrato*, p. 18.

115 Ibid., p. 17.

116 Ibid., p. 19.

117 Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, 1962 edn., p. 30.

118 Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, II, iv, 44.

and falls down again. But during their ascent the volatilized elements take from the higher stars male seeds, which they bring down into the four matrices, the elements, in order to fertilize them spagyrically." This is the "circular distillation"[119] which Rupescissa says must be repeated a thousand times.[120]

401 The basic idea of ascent and descent can be found in the *Tabula smaragdina*, and the stages of transformation have been depicted over and over again, above all in the Ripley "Scrowle" and its variants. These should be understood as indirect attempts to apprehend the unconscious processes of individuation in the form of pictures.

[119] "Physica genesis," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 391.

[120] *La Vertu et la propriété de la quinte essence*, p. 26.

XV

CONCLUSION

[illegible]

joyful splendour of life

[illegible]

Literature, perhaps Rider Haggard's *She*.—Editor.]

indeed, it has any effect at all.

of the marriage of the Lamb.

chological Study of the Origins of Monotheism

[illegible] point of universal disorientation.

[illegible]

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ZOSIMUS. "Rosinus ad Sarratantam." See (*A*) *Artis auriferae*, v.

INDEX

INDEX

In entries relating to the books of the Bible the numbers in parentheses indicate the chapter and verse(s) referred to.

A

E

G

H

J

M

N

O

S

U

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

C. G. JUNG

The publication of the first complete edition, in English, of the works of C. G. Jung was undertaken by Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., in England and by Bollingen Foundation in the United States. The American edition is number XX in Bollingen Series, which since 1967 has been published by Princeton University Press. The edition contains revised versions of works previously published, such as *Psychology of the Unconscious*, which is now entitled *Symbols of Transformation*; works originally written in English, such as *Psychology and Religion*; works not previously translated, such as *Aion*; and, in general, new translations of virtually all of Professor Jung's writings. Prior to his death, in 1961, the author supervised the textual revision, which in some cases is extensive. Sir Herbert Read (d. 1968), Dr. Michael Fordham, and Dr. Gerhard Adler compose the Editorial Committee; the translator is R. F. C. Hull (except for Volume 2) and William McGuire is executive editor.

The price of the volumes varies according to size; they are sold separately, and may also be obtained on standing order. Several of the volumes are extensively illustrated. Each volume contains an index and in most a bibliography; the final volume will contain a complete bibliography of Professor Jung's writings and a general index to the entire edition.

In the following list, dates of original publication are given in parentheses (of original composition, in brackets). Multiple dates indicate revisions.

*1 PSYCHIATRIC STUDIES

On the Psychology and Pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena (1902)

On Hysterical Misreading (1904)

Cryptomnesia (1905)

On Manic Mood Disorder (1903)

A Case of Hysterical Stupor in a Prisoner in Detention (1902)

On Simulated Insanity (1903)

A Medical Opinion on a Case of Simulated Insanity (1904)

A Third and Final Opinion on Two Contradictory Psychiatric Diagnoses (1906)

On the Psychological Diagnosis of Facts (1905)

†2 EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCHES

Translated by Leopold Stein in collaboration with Diana Riviere

STUDIES IN WORD ASSOCIATION (1904-7, 1910)

The Associations of Normal Subjects (by Jung and F. Riklin)

An Analysis of the Associations of an Epileptic

The Reaction-Time Ratio in the Association Experiment

Experimental Observations on the Faculty of Memory

Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments

The Psychological Diagnosis of Evidence

Association, Dream, and Hysterical Symptom

The Psychopathological Significance of the Association Experiment

Disturbances in Reproduction in the Association Experiment

The Association Method

The Family Constellation

PSYCHOPHYSICAL RESEARCHES (1907-8)

On the Psychophysical Relations of the Association Experiment

Psychophysical Investigations with the Galvanometer and Pneumograph in Normal and Insane Individuals (by F. Peterson and Jung)

Further Investigations on the Galvanic Phenomenon and Respiration in Normal and Insane Individuals (by C. Ricksher and Jung)

Appendix: Statistical Details of Enlistment (1906); New Aspects of Criminal Psychology (1908); The Psychological Methods of Investigation Used in the Psychiatric Clinic of the University of Zurich (1910); On the Doctrine of Complexes ([1911] 1913); On the Psychological Diagnosis of Evidence (1937)

* Published 1957; 2nd edn., 1970. † Published 1973.

*3. THE PSYCHOGENESIS OF MENTAL DISEASE

The Psychology of Dementia Praecox (1907)
The Content of the Psychoses (1908/1914)
On Psychological Understanding (1914)
A Criticism of Bleuler's Theory of Schizophrenic Negativism (1911)
On the Importance of the Unconscious in Psychopathology (1914)
On the Problem of Psychogenesis in Mental Disease (1919)
Mental Disease and the Psyche (1928)
On the Psychogenesis of Schizophrenia (1939)
Recent Thoughts on Schizophrenia (1957)
Schizophrenia (1958)

†4. FREUD AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

Freud's Theory of Hysteria: A Reply to Aschaffenburg (1906)
The Freudian Theory of Hysteria (1908)
The Analysis of Dreams (1909)
A Contribution to the Psychology of Rumour (1910-11)
On the Significance of Number Dreams (1910-11)
Morton Prince, "The Mechanism and Interpretation of Dreams": A Critical Review (1911)
On the Criticism of Psychoanalysis (1910)
Concerning Psychoanalysis (1912)
The Theory of Psychoanalysis (1913)
General Aspects of Psychoanalysis (1913)
Psychoanalysis and Neurosis (1916)
Some Crucial Points in Psychoanalysis: A Correspondence between Dr. Jung and Dr. Loy (1914)
Prefaces to "Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology" (1916, 1917)
The Significance of the Father in the Destiny of the Individual (1909/1949)
Introduction to Kranefeldt's "Secret Ways of the Mind" (1930)
Freud and Jung: Contrasts (1929)

‡5. SYMBOLS OF TRANSFORMATION (1911-12/1952)

PART I

Introduction
Two Kinds of Thinking
The Miller Fantasies: Anamnesis
The Hymn of Creation
The Song of the Moth

(continued)

* Published 1960. † Published 1961.
‡ Published 1956; 2nd edn., 1967. (65 plates, 43 text figures.)

5. (continued)

PART II

Introduction
The Concept of Libido
The Transformation of Libido
The Origin of the Hero
Symbols of the Mother and of Rebirth
The Battle for Deliverance from the Mother
The Dual Mother
The Sacrifice
Epilogue
Appendix: The Miller Fantasies

*6. PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES (1921)

Introduction
The Problem of Types in the History of Classical and Medieval Thought
Schiller's Ideas on the Type Problem
The Apollinian and the Dionysian
The Type Problem in Human Character
The Type Problem in Poetry
The Type Problem in Psychopathology
The Type Problem in Aesthetics
The Type Problem in Modern Philosophy
The Type Problem in Biography
General Description of the Types
Definitions
Epilogue
Four Papers on Psychological Typology (1913, 1925, 1931, 1936)

†7. TWO ESSAYS ON ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

On the Psychology of the Unconscious (1917/1926/1943)
The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious (1928)
Appendix: New Paths in Psychology (1912); The Structure of the Unconscious (1916) (new versions, with variants, 1966)

‡8. THE STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF THE PSYCHE

On Psychic Energy (1928)
The Transcendent Function ([1916] 1957)
A Review of the Complex Theory (1934)
The Significance of Constitution and Heredity in Psychology (1929)

* Published 1971
† Published 1953; 2nd edn., 1966
‡ Published 1960; 2nd edn., 1969

 (continued)

* Published 1959; 2nd edn., 1968. (Part I: 79 plates, with 29 in colour.)

9. *(continued)*

The Prophecies of Nostradamus
The Historical Significance of the Fish
The Ambivalence of the Fish Symbol
The Fish in Alchemy
The Alchemical Interpretation of the Fish
Background to the Psychology of Christian Alchemical Symbolism
Gnostic Symbols of the Self
The Structure and Dynamics of the Self
Conclusion

*10. CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION

The Role of the Unconscious (1918)
Mind and Earth (1927/1931)
Archaic Man (1931)
The Spiritual Problem of Modern Man (1928/1931)
The Love Problem of a Student (1928)
Woman in Europe (1927)
The Meaning of Psychology for Modern Man (1933/1934)
The State of Psychotherapy Today (1934)
Preface and Epilogue to "Essays on Contemporary Events" (1946)
Wotan (1936)
After the Catastrophe (1945)
The Fight with the Shadow (1946)
The Undiscovered Self (Present and Future) (1957)
Flying Saucers: A Modern Myth (1958)
A Psychological View of Conscience (1958)
Good and Evil in Analytical Psychology (1959)
Introduction to Wolff's "Studies in Jungian Psychology" (1959)
The Swiss Line in the European Spectrum (1928)
Reviews of Keyserling's "America Set Free" (1930) and "La Révolution Mondiale" (1934)
The Complications of American Psychology (1930)
The Dreamlike World of India (1939)
What India Can Teach Us (1939)
Appendix: Documents (1933–1938)

†11. PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION: WEST AND EAST

WESTERN RELIGION

Psychology and Religion (The Terry Lectures) (1938/1940)

* Published 1964; 2nd edn., 1970. (8 plates.)
† Published 1958; 2nd edn., 1969.

A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity (1942/1948)
Transformation Symbolism in the Mass (1942/1954)
Forewords to White's "God and the Unconscious" and Werblowsky's "Lucifer and Prometheus" (1952)
Brother Klaus (1933)
Psychotherapists or the Clergy (1932)
Psychoanalysis and the Cure of Souls (1928)
Answer to Job (1952)

EASTERN RELIGION

Psychological Commentaries on "The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation" (1939/1954) and "The Tibetan Book of the Dead" (1935/1953)
Yoga and the West (1936)
Foreword to Suzuki's "Introduction to Zen Buddhism" (1939)
The Psychology of Eastern Meditation (1943)
The Holy Men of India: Introduction to Zimmer's "Der Weg zum Selbst" (1944)
Foreword to the "I Ching" (1950)

*12 PSYCHOLOGY AND ALCHEMY (1944)
Prefatory note to the English Edition ([1951?] added 1966)
Introduction to the Religious and Psychological Problems of Alchemy
Individual Dream Symbolism in Relation to Alchemy (1936)
Religious Ideas in Alchemy (1937)
Epilogue

†13 ALCHEMICAL STUDIES
Commentary on "The Secret of the Golden Flower" (1929)
The Visions of Zosimos (1938/1954)
Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon (1942)
The Spirit Mercurius (1943/1948)
The Philosophical Tree (1945/1954)

‡14 MYSTERIUM CONIUNCTIONIS (1955–56)

AN INQUIRY INTO THE SEPARATION AND SYNTHESIS OF PSYCHIC OPPOSITES IN ALCHEMY

The Components of the Coniunctio
The Paradoxa
The Personification of the Opposites
Rex and Regina *(continued)*

* Published 1953; 2nd edn., completely revised, 1968. (270 illustrations.)
† Published 1968. (50 plates, 4 text figures.)
‡ Published 1963; 2nd edn., 1970. (10 plates.)

* Published 1966.
† Published 1954; 2nd edn., revised and augmented, 1966. (13 illustrations.)
‡ Published 1954.

The Development of Personality (1954)
Marriage as a Psychological Relationship (1925)

18. MISCELLANY
Posthumous and Other Miscellaneous Works

19. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX
Complete Bibliography of C. G. Jung's Writings
General Index to the Collected Works

See also:

C. G. JUNG: LETTERS

Selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé
Translations from the German by R. F. C. Hull
VOL. 1: 1906-1950*
VOL. 2: 1951-1961

* Published 1973. In the Princeton edition, the *Letters* constitute Bollingen Series XCV.

†THE FREUD/JUNG LETTERS

The Correspondence between Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung
Translated by Ralph Manheim and R. F. C. Hull
Edited by William McGuire

† Published 1974. In the Princeton edition, *The Freud/Jung Letters* constitute Bollingen Series XCIV.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF C. G. JUNG

Editors: Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler; executive editor, William McGuire. Translated from the German by R.F.C. Hull (except Vol. 2). The entire edition constitutes No. XX in Bollingen Series.

1. Psychiatric Studies
2. Experimental Researches (trans. by Leopold Stein in collaboration with Diana Riviere)
3. The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease
4. Freud and Psychoanalysis
5. Symbols of Transformation
6. Psychological Types
7. Two Essays on Analytical Psychology
8. The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche
9. Part I. The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious
9. Part II. Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self
10. Civilization in Transition
11. Psychology and Religion: West and East
12. Psychology and Alchemy
13. Alchemical Studies
14. Mysterium Coniunctionis
15. The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature
16. The Practice of Psychotherapy
17. The Development of Personality
18. The Symbolic Life: Miscellaneous Writings
19. General Bibliography of Jung's Writings
20. General Index

C. G. Jung: Psychological Reflections: A New Anthology of His Writings, 1905-1961, edited by Jolande Jacobi and R.F.C. Hull (B.S. XXXI)

C. G. Jung: Letters, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé, 2 vols. (B.S. XCV)

The Freud/Jung Letters, edited by William McGuire (B.S. XCIV)